

AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY
OF THE
NOVELA PICARESCA IN SPAIN

DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE

BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY AT BALTIMORE

FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

FONGER DE HAAN

MAY 1895



THE HAGUE—NEW YORK
MARTINUS NIJHOFF
SEPTEMBER 1903

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When I wrote this dissertation, I could assume that before sending it to the printer I might rework it.

The Board of University Studies of the Johns Hopkins University has requested that my work be printed, in the form in which, eight years ago, it was presented.

F. W. Chandler's *Romances of roguery. Part I. The picaresque novel in Spain*, (1899) appeared almost simultaneously with my study: *Pícaros y ganapanes* (in: *Homenaje á Menéndez y Pelayo*, 1899).

The author could not notice my having worked on the same subject, the only earlier printed record thereof being in the yearly report of the Johns Hopkins University.

The merit of his book precludes regret — on any one's part.

AUGUST, 1903.

PREFACE.

La vraie gloire littéraire de l'Espagne réside dans le roman, dans l'histoire et dans la poésie héroïque, qui est encore une manière d'histoire.

A. MOREL-FATIO,
(*Etudes sur l'Espagne*, I. p. 85)

The following monograph is the outcome of my studies in Spanish literature, undertaken during the months of July, August and September 1894 under the guidance and in the library of Professor M. Menéndez y Pelayo at Santander, Spain, and brought before the students in the Department of Romance Languages in the Johns Hopkins University in a series of weekly lectures during the academic year 1894—1895.

Owing to the many obscure points in this part of Spanish literary history, and to the lack of a good working library, I cannot claim this to be what I should like to make it: a "History of the Novela Picaresca".

In the course of a deeper study of this subject, many questions arise that can only be solved by constant access to various books that are not found in any library in this country.

PREFACE.

It is proposed to develop this dissertation into a book that may do justice to the subject. To this end it will be necessary

1. to establish, if possible, the etymology and first appearance of the word *pícaro*;
2. to trace the *pícaro* as a social caste, in Castile and elsewhere in the Spanish domains;
3. to settle a number of bibliographical matters that are left incomplete here.

As for the relation between the personal history of the authors and the adventures of their heroes, it is clear that where years of painstaking study have failed to reveal to Spaniards what we should like to know, a foreign student far away from archives and special libraries can only hope, but not expect, to find new material.

The various questions that remain "sub judice" are duly pointed out; here and there I have suggested a solution which it will be my task to carry out at the earliest opportunity.

Notwithstanding its defects, the following treatment contains more material than that presented in any other work which has appeared up to the present. Especially has attention been paid to bibliography, that most troublesome of subdivisions of Spanish literary history.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
Preface	VII
Table of contents	IX
Literature on the <i>novela picaresca</i> in Spain.	
A. Special studies	XI
B. In general studies of literary history	XII
I. The <i>novela picaresca</i> . Its name. Its literary antecedents in Spain	I
II. <i>Lazarillo de Tormes</i>	9
III. <i>Guzman de Alfarache</i>	14
IV. <i>La pícara Justina</i>	19
V. <i>El Viaje entretenido</i> , by Agustin de Rojas . .	20
VI. Cervantes	22
VII. The <i>Viaje del mundo</i> , by Cevallos.	25
VIII. <i>El Pasajero</i> , by Suarez de Figueroa.	27
IX. <i>Marcos de Obregon</i> , by Espinel	29
X. <i>La desordenada codicia</i> , etc., by Garcia . . .	32
XI. <i>Enriquez de Castro</i> , by Loubayssin de Lamarca	33

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
XII. <i>Pedro de Urdemalas</i> , by Salas Barbadillo . .	34
XIII. <i>Alonso mozo de muchos amos</i> , by Alcalá Yañez	37
XIV. <i>La monja alférez</i>	39
XV. The <i>Comentarios del Desengañado</i> , by Diego Duque de Estrada.	40
XVI. <i>Historia de la vida del Buscón</i> , by Quevedo.	42
XVII. <i>El soldado Pindaro</i> , by Céspedes	44
XVIII. <i>Raimundo el entremetido</i> , by Valderrama . .	45
XIX. <i>Teresa, Trapaza</i> , and the <i>Garduña</i> , by Castillo Solorzano.	46
XX. The <i>Siglo pitagórico</i> , by Enriquez Gomez .	48
XXI. <i>Estevanillo Gonzalez</i>	49
XXII. Diego de Torres y Villaroel	53
XXIII. Gomez Arias	56
XXIV. <i>Gil Perez de Marchamalo</i> , by Muntadas . .	58
XXV. <i>Memorias de un cortesano de 1815</i> , by Perez Galdos	61
XXVI. <i>Pedro Sanchez</i> , by Pereda	62
Conclusion	64
Notes on <i>An outline of the history of the novela picaresca</i> <i>in Spain</i>	69

LITERATURE ON THE NOVELA PICARESCA IN SPAIN.

A. SPECIAL STUDIES.

1846. Aribau, *La novela picaresca*. (in: *Discurso preliminar*, etc., in vol. III, B. A. E. Madrid, Rivadeneyra, 1846, pp. 21—28).
1848. F. Wolf (in: *Jahrbücher der Literatur*, Band 122, Wien, 1848, pp. 98—106).
1858. Ernest Lafond, *Les humoristes espagnols*. (in: *Revue Contemporaine*, 15 Juin 1858).
1862. Karl Stahr, *Mendoza's Lazarillo und die Bettler — und Schelmenromane der Spanier*. (in: *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Politik und Literatur*, Bd. III, Berlin, 1862, pp. 411—444).
1866. Emile Chasles, *L'Espagne picaresque*. (in: *Miguel de Cervantes*, par E. C., 2^{me} éd., Paris, 1866, pp. 254—286).
1867. (Anon.) *Picaresque Romances*. (in: *The Southern Review*, vol. II, Baltimore, Bledsoe and Browne, 1867, pp. 146—171).
1870. O. Collman, *Gil Blas und die Novela Picaresca*. (in: *Herrig's Archiv*, vol. 46, 1870, pp. 219—250).
1886. A. Morel-Fatio. *Préface to the Vie de Lazarille de Tormès*. Paris, H. Launette & Cie, 1886, pp. I—XXII.
1887. Dr. Jan ten Brink, *Gerbrand Adriaensz. Bredero*, vol. III, *De kluchten en de blijspelen*, Leiden, 1889, pp. 182—212.
1888. A. Morel-Fatio, *Lazarille de Tormès*, (in: *Etudes sur l'Espagne*, 1^{re} série, pp. 114—140; 171—176).

LITERATURE ON THE NOVELA PICARESCA IN SPAIN.

1888. Dr. Jan ten Brink, *Dr. Nicolaas Heinsius Jun.*, eene studie over den Hollandschen schelmenroman der 17^e eeuw. Rotterdam, 1888.
1888. Karl von Reinhardstöttner, *Aegidius Albertinus*, der Vater des deutschen Schelmenromans (in: *Jahrbuch für Münchener Geschichte*, II. Jahrgang, 1888, pp. 13—16).
1890. Léo Claretie, (in: *Lesage romancier*, Paris, 1890, pp. 175—425).
1890. José Gilés y Rubio, *El origen y desarrollo de la novela picaresca* (Discurso leído en la solemne apertura del curso académico de 1890 á 1891). Oviedo, 1890. 4^o, 52 pp.
1892. Wilhelm Lauser, *Der erste Schelmenroman, Lazarillo van Tormes*. 2nd edition, Stuttgart, 1892. (Einleitung, pp. 1—42).
1893. Albert Schultheiss, *Der Schelmenroman der Spanier und seine Nachbildungen* (Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge, Heft 165. Hamburg, 1893).

B. IN GENERAL HISTORIES OF LITERATURE.

- Georg Ticknor, *Geschichte der schönen Literatur in Spanien*. Deutsch mit Zusätzen herausgegeben von N. H. Julius. Leipzig, 1852. (vol. I, pp. 399—401; vol. II, pp. 210—224).
- , Supplementband, von Adolf Wolf. Leipzig, 1867. (pp. 158—162).
- Karl Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*. 2nd edition, Dresden, 1886. (vol. II, pp. 575—579).
- Dr. Heinrich Körting, *Geschichte des französischen Romans im XVII. Jahrhundert*. vol. I. Leipzig. 1885. (pp. 50—56).
- F. M. Warren, *A history of the novel previous to the seventeenth century*. New York, 1895. (pp. 286—322).

N.B. I have placed here only such studies as I have been able to consult; others will be found quoted at second hand.

I.

THE NOVELA PICARESCA. ITS NAME. ITS LITERARY ANTECEDENTS IN SPAIN.

The *novela picaresca* is the autobiography of a *pícaro*, a rogue, and in that form a satire upon the conditions and persons of the time that gives it birth.¹

It is claimed that the *Lazarillo de Tormes* is the first specimen of this class of literature in Spain.² This is true if we admit that a novel must be essentially in prose, but not true if we allow the appellation to a composition written in poetry.

Neither are we entitled to call the *Lazarillo* a *novela picaresca* if the novel is to be regarded exclusively as fiction, for, nothing being known concerning its author, so far as we are aware it may be the actual history of his life; and though the adventures are clearly written with satirical intent, they would not in this case deserve the name of a novel.

If it be demanded that the hero of the work shall use the name *pícaro* in any part of his career, we

have also to set aside the *Lazarillo*, because the first time this word is applied to the hero of a story is in 1599, in the *Guzman de Alfarache*.

Let us see who is the *pícaro*, in order to arrive at the definition of the *novela picaresca*.

The early Spanish dictionaries define the *pícaro* as "a person of the lowest class, ragged and dirty, who is employed in low work", ³ to which was later added the meaning: "astute; he who by skill and dissimulation attains what he desires." ⁴

The first time that the word is used in the novel *Guzman de Alfarache*, it is in the combination "a thievish young *pícaro*," ⁵ while a few lines later we find him "carrying things as an ass would" ⁶ and "laden with a basket." ⁷

Cervantes, in *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, ⁸ uses the word for a ragged rascal, and with the same meaning in *La ilustre fregona*, ⁹ and makes the heroes of the former establish themselves as basket-boys who carry things from the market to the houses of purchasers. ¹⁰

In *El Averiguador Universal* for 1879 C(esareo) F(ernández) D(uro) asks the question who were the *pícaros*? He had found in the city ordinances of an old town of Castile, written in the sixteenth century, the regulation: "there shall be only twelve *ganapanes* and twelve *pícaros*, and to distinguish them the *ganapanes* shall use red hoods and the *pícaros* green ones." ¹¹ To which Sbarbi, the editor, replied that according to Salvá's dictionary, the

word *pícaro* formerly designated the boy who stands with his basket in the marketplace to carry what is entrusted to him. ¹²

Not only in the above-mentioned city ordinances do we find the names *pícaro* and *ganapán* mentioned as being closely related to each other; but Lope de Vega in *La esclava de su galán* makes one of the characters use the two words in the same *jornada*, both adressed to the same person, and both with vituperative force. ¹³

The *ganapanes* were thus called "because they earned their bread with hard work, and with a more becoming name they were called *hermanos del trabajo*; and they lead a happy life, not caring about honor, and so they are ashamed of nothing; they do not mind going about in rags, and not having property, they cannot be sued by creditors. They eat and drink of the best, and spend their lives in contentment." ¹⁴

These same traits are found in the *Guzman* ¹⁵ and in the poem *La vida del pícaro*, ¹⁶ so that it may be said that the difference between these two characters was, that the *ganapán* did heavy work, carrying heavy things, and the *pícaro* used a basket, of which the contents were necessarily small, so that a boy could exercise this office.

This being established, the derivation of the word *pícaro* from "*pica*, a lance for infantry, either because they carried one in war, or were sold 'sub hasta' as prisoners of war," ¹⁷ or from "*pícar*, to

pick up," ¹⁸ do not satisfy us. Neither the meaning nor the accent authorizes this etymology. ¹⁹ The Italian *piccolo* comes nearer to *pícaro* in form, but again we are confronted with the difficulty of explaining why the Spanish word was used for a ragged basket-boy while the Italian word has no such meaning, and has moreover various equivalents in Spanish, one of them, *pequeño*, probably from the same root. ²⁰

It will be necessary to study city ordinances of the sixteenth century, before we can say when the *pícaros* came forward as a class of people or try to determine their origin, which may give us a sure foundation for conjecture as to their name.

The first time that, as far as I have been able to ascertain, the word occurs in literature, is in a letter by Eugenio de Salazar, ²¹ written probably not later than 1560. ²² He gives us there a delightful description of Toledo, where he finds the *pícaro* in company of the worst rabble that a large city contains, and his long enumeration of dangerous characters ²³ calls to mind a passage from the Arcipreste de Hita, ²⁴ which in turn, by rare coincidence, is reproduced by Clément Marot. ²⁵

So the *pícaro* was a member of a class that bore a bad reputation, in fact was ranked with the lowest people. He did not work hard for a living, spent what he could get on eating and drinking, and did not concern himself about honor.

In these points, though the word does not occur

in the story, *Lazarillo* is the equal of the *pícaro*. All his concern is how to get something where-with to satisfy his ever-present appetite, stealing when no other way offers, and perfectly happy when at last he finds a place where he can eat at the expense of his honor.

Long before *Lazarillo* was given to the public, autobiographic works existed in Spanish and in other languages of the Peninsula. The Arcipreste de Hita had written his poem which is usually called *Libro de cantares* ²⁶ and is considered as one of the masterpieces of Spanish literature. ²⁷ In it he describes in an attractive form his quest of pleasure, especially of love successes, and puts himself without hesitation in the light of a rather unscrupulous personage who associates with very disreputable individuals to attain his ends, though frequently feeling compunction at his naughtiness. Inexhaustible is his good humor and his wit, unexcelled his style and his happy impersonation of various characters, inimitable his fluency of versification in the numerous forms of verse, and unrivalled the appropriateness with which he introduces and tells a fable. But all this does not make him a *pícaro*. He neither steals nor even begs for sustenance, in fact, is only too much addicted to women, and though he would not be generally considered a model, especially as a priest, he would be a more desirable, more entertaining, and safer acquaintance than any one of the persons whom we shall meet

in the course of our study of the novel proper. It is true he is satirical, and writes an autobiography, but it is a poem, and poems are not novels, even when they are fiction.

Likewise, remarkable and interesting though the work be, we can only reject the claim of Jaume Roig's *Libre de les dones* ²⁸ to consideration as a picaresque novel. ²⁹ It is the story of a man from Valencia who in his old age relates the story of his life to a nephew in order to warn him against the wiles of women. While young he started out to the wars in France, obtained much booty, was married most unfortunately three times, and found that "all was vanity." The purpose of the work is a satire against women; the hero worked hard and honorably for his earnings, and though poor at the beginning of his career, we do not read that he debased himself by thieving or trickery. Moreover, his production is a poem; this, together with the reasons just noted, induces us to exclude it from a place among the *novela picaresca*, though, like the Arcipreste's book, it has a right to be called a fore-runner of that *novela*.

More directly, perhaps, was the autobiographic form suggested to the author of *Lazarillo* by the *Asinus Aureus* of Apulejus, of which the Spanish translation was first printed in 1513, followed soon by various other editions. ³⁰ Though the two works bear no similarity as to contents, both deal with the lower classes and satirize the higher orders of

society, and both are characteristic of the time in which they were composed: the *Asinus Aureus*, of the Roman empire, threatened with dissolution, infested with disorderly persons and depraved characters; the *Lazarillo*, of a realm that seemed powerful, but at whose vitals was gnawing the evil that was to destroy it: the horror of honest toil.³¹

The *Celestina* and its host of imitations also deserves our attention as having paved the way for the *novela picaresca*. To speak here only of the *Celestina* itself, a work far more noteworthy than any of the numerous continuations, we have a long prose dialogue, hardly to be called a play on account of its extent and many passages that could never be produced on any stage, which portrays, in a manner not since equalled, all the desires, hopes and fears, all the baseness and depravity of the lowest of humankind. Through all the Sixteenth century its popularity was unequalled; there seems to be no end to the number of editions³² that found ever ready buyers and readers; its imitations³³ are as numerous as those of *Amadis*, and it was only when Don Quijote entered upon his triumphant march through the literary world that the *Celestina* descended to a less prominent place among the chief masterpieces of Spanish literature.

Yet, though dealing with low characters, and often frankly satirical in their tone, the *Celestinas* are not picaresque works, much less novels. What they satirize is the wickedness of young men of

high rank, who shun no baseness if they can betray a young lady of high standing; the numerous class of horrible old hags who help them in their sinful undertakings; the servants, never faithful to their masters, but only intent upon gain; the braggarts and swashbucklers, cowardly with the strong and overbearing with the weak and unprotected; the silly young women, so easily led astray by fine words and extravagant pretense of affection; the would-be poets who call upon all heaven und earth for inspiration, and in many words, that no one understands, express nothing that conveys a thought; in short, all classes of society in their relation to one another are pictured in the original *Celestina* with a power that even now causes the effect of a lifelike portrait, in the imitations with a sort of pretentious attempt at learning. The purpose, however, of drawing attention to existing evils and of hinting at the remedy for them, ³⁴ is not there: the only lesson that is taught in these works, is that of shunning the dangerous path of illicit love.

Now, having set aside the poetic works of the Arcipreste de Hita and of Jaume Roig, as well as the dialogued *Celestinas*, I ask once more: what is a *novela picaresca*?

It is the prose autobiography of a person, real or imaginary, who strives by fair means and by foul to make a living, and in relating his experience in various classes of society, points out the evils which came under his observation.

This definition more strictly applies only to the most typical novels of this class. Later the autobiographic form was not always regarded necessary for the purpose, and sometimes also the satirical intention is absent. But in the latter case we find a state of society which, though accepted by the author, is so bad that the careful portrayal of it is a sufficient hint as to what needs correction; and thus, perhaps unintentionally, the author writes a satire upon this society, himself included.

II.

LAZARILLO DE TORMES.

Toward the end of the reign of Charles V there appeared a little book that, unpretentious and unassuming, was the severest satire upon existing conditions of society. It narrates the adventures of a boy who, in the various classes with whom he had associated, had always suffered from want of food, so that he could satisfy the cravings of his stomach only by theft and trickery. When he finds a person of honor, it is one who by his pride and his sense of honor is compelled to go without earning and without eating, because work would be debasing to one of his extraction. Lazarillo, the boy, finds the end of his hardships only when he

sacrifices his honor for the sake of eating his fill.

Spain was at this epoch a country of peculiar social conditions.³⁵ It had for centuries been fighting to free itself of foreign invaders with whom it had nothing in common, and had at last succeeded in re-establishing its power and independence. In the course of this long contest its inhabitants, known from the oldest times for their unconquerable desire for freedom, had strengthened that desire, and been rewarded for their exertions in war by various privileges which placed their rights upon a firm basis. Both the higher and the lower classes had in many civil uprisings asserted their rights, the last time with disastrous results, when the war of the *Comunidades* ended in the victory of a new principle: absolute monarchy.

In the endless intestine, and later foreign, wars, all classes had found opportunity to satisfy their longing for adventure and their desire for gain. To these the discovery of the Western hemisphere and of many other unknown lands had opened new fields, and many eagerly flocked thither to achieve renown and wealth. This had drawn the most sturdy elements of society from the country, and as most of the able-bodied subjects had sought their fortunes elsewhere, it was only the feebler ones who had remained. Of these, many sought to gain a living in official capacity, for which the Universities were the antechamber, while others, less advantageously situated, tried to live on the crumbs that fell from

the tables of the wealthy. An extravagant court had set the example of prodigality, and this, together with the enormous expense of endless wars from which no profit accrued to the country, intended as they were to satisfy only the ambitious aims of the ruler, had brought the resources of the country to the verge of bankruptcy.

Under these inauspicious conditions the little book: *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades* appeared. Its keynote is the everlasting and ever present hunger³⁶ that filled the country from end to end with famished wretches, while those who possessed some property guarded it as their very life, denying themselves almost the necessities of sustenance in order to accumulate a little hoard of wealth.³⁷ Those in a position to help others failed to do their duty by their fellow-man, the nobles in rewarding, not faithful servants, but only those who pandered to their tastes,³⁸ the clergy by being unapproachable when in high position,³⁹ and by being more miserly than others when only possessed of a small living.⁴⁰ The petty nobles had only one feeling: that of their importance and the consideration due to them on account of their birth;⁴¹ they consequently could not debase themselves by work, and their only hope was to find a place in the household of the strong in power.⁴² When once in such positions, adroitness in flattering their masters was the only means to insure their future,⁴³ as also in a lower estate only

the astute and unscrupulous could thrive.⁴⁴ Charity was found only among the lower classes,⁴⁵ and at times even this would fail, when the host of beggars became so great that the authorities thought it advisable to drive them from the cities.⁴⁶

Among the people so sorely afflicted a certain dismal good-humor and hopefulness prevailed, that bore them up under the adversest circumstances. They were capable of keeping up appearances when everything was wanting,⁴⁷ and of laughing heartily when the comical side of their situation was made apparent.⁴⁸ And when at last a lucky tide had brought momentary good fortune, they indulged themselves,⁴⁹ regardless of the morrow that would see them as poor and helpless as before.

A book of this kind could not fail to become popular, because it spoke aloud what everybody felt, and gave the people an opportunity to laugh their pangs away. The more so as in all Spanish literature, at least in prose, we find no other work written in such simple language and unaffected style. An occasional classical allusion⁵⁰ does not indicate that the author was a scholar: in all Spanish books of the time it was considered not out of place to put a vast amount of quotations from Latin and Greek authors in the mouths of stable-boys and low women⁵¹. How the clumsiness of phrase-constructions found in the work⁵² could have been associated with the name of so consummate a scholar as Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, who for centuries was

(and by some well-read persons still is) supposed to be the author, is incomprehensible. My impression is that the author, whose name we can only hope some happy discovery may reveal, was a person who may have gone through precisely those adventures that he describes, being of humble birth and later of modest position, in which he became known as relating interesting things that had befallen him in his youth, and that he was requested by a person of rank to put his experiences on record ⁵³ for the amusement of the general public.

The history of the book is too well known to be mentioned here at length. How it is claimed that Mendoza wrote it when a student at Salamanca; ⁵⁴ how it is said ⁵⁵ that in 1553 it was first printed at Antwerp, while we only know with certainty that there are three editions of 1554 (at Burgos, at Alcalá and at Antwerp) ⁵⁶ the priority of which is not even now fully established; how edition followed edition ⁵⁷ until in 1559 the book was prohibited by the Inquisition ⁵⁸ on account of its too free utterances concerning the clergy; how, in spite of this, copies printed in foreign lands would be introduced into Spain, so that it was at last deemed advisable to make an expurgated edition; ⁵⁹ how in 1555 a continuation ⁶⁰ had been composed that showed an entire misconception of the spirit of the book, and went off into an imitation of Lucian; how, again, in 1620, ⁶¹ a Spaniard living at Paris took upon himself the task to continue

where the original author had stopped, and how he made a readable story in which his griefs against the Inquisition found vent;⁶² how in imitation of the *Lazarillo de Tormes* a *Lazarillo de Manzanares* was written, in which a good opportunity to satirize Madrid life in 1620 was missed;⁶³ how the book was soon translated into other languages⁶⁴ and became familiar everywhere, and in Spain was so popular that the boy who leads a blind man has ever since been called a *lazarillo*,⁶⁵ and that certain other allusions to the story became commonplace expressions,⁶⁶ while Shakespeare did not disdain to allude to the book,⁶⁷ and in Dutch, the best comedy⁶⁸ was based upon one of Lazarillo's adventures.

The little book had surely a most remarkable, though well deserved, fortune, and stands as one of the most curious, entertaining and important works in the Spanish language. But though everyone knew the book by heart, its influence was not powerful enough to change the conditions of Spain, and half a century later a voice once more went up to ameliorate, if possible, the wretched state of the people.

III.

GUZMAN DE ALFARACHE.

In 1599 was given to the world another story in prose, autobiographic in form, its hero being no

longer one who from sheer want is driven to petty theft, but on the contrary, though having had opportunities to attain comfort in honest ways, he had preferred to be a consummate rascal, ending his career in the galleys, and there, filled with contrition, writing his life as a warning to others.

The date of the work is significant. In 1598 Philip the Second had died, and a new king had come to the throne of whom many expected a better state of affairs than that which had prevailed under his father's rule. Soon, however, it became clear that not in every way was improvement destined to come. While the old king had personally attended to the details of government,⁶⁹ so that merit, once placed in position to show itself, had been enabled to earn official recognition, under the new ruler all was left to favor and favorites.⁷⁰ The king only saw the not always glittering surface of things, and was ignorant of all except what could afford him pleasure—a policy that was continued during the reign of his successors.

Just as, in the early part of the reign of Philip the Second, hosts of office-seekers had gathered at the Court, but had gradually disappeared as their fortunes became exhausted and no government places fell to their share, so now crowds thronged to Madrid who sought position or promotion: soldiers, administrators, literary persons, many of whom went away with empty hands and vented their feelings in print. Mateo Aleman must have been one of

these, if we are to draw conclusions from his famous book *Guzman*; for alas! it is only recently that attempts have been made to study the lives of Spanish authors more thoroughly than their contemporaries thought necessary, and some of the most renowned writers have never received the honor of a somewhat complete biography. Aleman belongs to this class of neglected worthies, and the facts we know about his life are meagre in the extreme. He was a long time administrator in the treasury,⁷¹ was prosecuted because his accounts were incorrect,⁷² and in his old age emigrated to Mexico.⁷³ He was born in Seville;⁷⁴ he seems to have been a soldier,⁷⁵ probably before he obtained an office, and perhaps never returned to his native country from across the Atlantic.

The *Guzman* suggests to me the following points as bearing directly upon Aleman's life history.

In the work two facts are very apparent, outside of the real story of the hero: first, the strong and unsparing remarks the author makes, by mouth of Guzman, concerning the state of the Spanish realm; secondly, his thorough knowledge of everything pertaining to the geography of Italy north of Rome, and to the state of the cities in this region of the Italian peninsula. Besides these, as minor matters, we note the knowledge he has of the life of the soldiers, their tricks at cards and other distinguishing traits. This leads me to assume that the statement that he once was a soldier is correct, and in the

second place that, when he had gone to Madrid in order to apply for a position under the new government, his claim, based upon his service in official capacity, had been denied, and somebody else, more skillful in flattery and in fawning on those in power, had been given the desired place.

That he went to Mexico is sufficiently proved by various passages in his *Ortografia*; nothing further is known about him, and it is matter of surprise to notice that there seem to be indications,⁷⁶ though rather doubtful, that about 1617 he was again in Madrid.

It would require evidence drawn from page after page of the voluminous *Guzman* to set forth at length the points noted above.⁷⁷ While *Guzman* is a book that, as a novel, suffers from the too long digressions, which some critics have therefor desired to discard from editions they proposed to make,⁷⁸ to me the interest of the story is secondary to those very digressions, because we find in them the expression of opinion of a man who in various capacities and in long and efficient service had become thoroughly acquainted with the state of things and who, too old to accept the new order of affairs, was honest enough to desire the welfare of his country rather than his own private advantage.

Strange to say, I do not find that the Inquisition ever meddled with the book, though some expressions contained in it are much stronger and more unreserved than the passage that was found objec-

tionable in *Don Quijote*.⁷⁹ But we have to consider the work in the light of our subject; as such, it bears the character of the real picaresque novel, more so, perhaps, than the *Lazarillo*. For here we have a person, well equipped for success in life, who voluntarily throws away his chances, and prefers to steal and cheat rather than avail himself of the opportunity to earn an honest living. It is sufficiently characteristic of the times that this work was popular as a work of entertainment only; a long passage in Lujan's continuation of the story⁸⁰ throws a striking light upon the spirit of the Spanish public of this time—a public that found material for amusement in literary products which now cause us to turn aside in disgust from so much rottenness as was necessary to give rise to such literature as is discussed in Lujan's work.

It is only very recently that the bibliography of Aleman is beginning to look satisfactory, and even now there are some minor details that are not cleared up.⁸¹ From contemporary statement⁸² we knew his power of work; we now know that he also indulged in making clever poetical translations from Horace;⁸³ his critical acumen is proved by his estimates of the works of others. His knowledge of the Spanish language not only induced him to submit a method⁸⁴ for improving, very reasonably to be sure, the somewhat unrational Spanish spelling, but enabled him to write an extensive work that, though less sparkling with wit than Cervantes and

less easy in style, is a beautiful specimen of writing, displaying as it does his command of language alike in exhortation as in story telling, in sarcasm and in levity, in description and in dignified remonstrat-ion.⁸⁵ The more is the pity that so little is known⁸⁶ of a person of such parts; we should like to know the man who was almost the only representative, and surely the most settled in his convictions, of those whose patriotism made them raise their voices in opposition to the evils that threatened ruin to their country.

The work of Mateo Lujan de Sayavedra,⁸⁷ or Juan Martí,⁸⁸ though for some reasons an estimable book, and a valuable contribution to our knowledge of his time,⁸⁹ sinks into insignificance as a novel when read after *Guzman*. All the striking qualities of the original author are lacking; his arrangement of the plot is frequently awkward; his digressions no longer form part of the story, but assume the character of special treatises: his language is wanting in effectiveness, and contains many constructions that Aleman no longer used.⁹⁰

Almost the same thing may be said of

IV.

LA PÍCARA JUSTINA.

The work is pretentious from the very Preface, and is a monument of Spanish literature mainly for the reason that it is the earliest important specimen

of the wretched taste that was soon to prevail. As a picaresque novel it may safely be left unread, for the adventures are uninteresting in the extreme; but a curious piece of literature it is, with its shallow witticisms and proudly announced variety of verse. In the matter of language it is a useful book, since, with its endless play upon words and violent combinations of ideas, it furnishes material not easily gathered from the more pithy jokes of the *graciosos*, the comical characters in the Spanish classical drama.⁹¹

Quite different is the next work,

V.

EL VIAJE ENTRETENIDO, OF AGUSTIN DE ROJAS.

In chronological succession the *Viaje* should have come at least before the *Justina*, who was given her place because she is a direct successor to Guzman.⁹²

The *Viaje* offers interest from every point of view: the history of the Spanish stage would be very incomplete if we did not have Rojas' book; but, besides this, it is an indubitable autobiography⁹³ of one of that numerous class who lived by their wits and their wit, and were not ashamed to confess their shortcomings and direct violation of all the proprieties. A real autobiography of this kind is in itself sufficient to give rise to a class of literature dealing with unscrupulous characters, and it seems

peculiar that other actors did not, in like manner, bring before the public their adventures and experiences. But the picaresque novel had already found its form, and other actors did not have the literary ability of Rojas, whose *loas* are models of their kind, and whose prose is as clever as his poetry.

A curious epilogue to his *Viaje* is formed by his future adventures. Eight years after this work was published he wrote a very different kind of book, *El buen repúblico*, from which we learn that, having added to his experiences that of a lawsuit and an unhappy marriage, he became a public officer, *escribano*, in which position he composed this book, wherein matters of administration are discussed.⁹⁴ But, given the antecedents of the man and the character which the government officials bore, it looks like a case of the wolf in sheep's clothing and we might consider it safer for society if this *pícaro* had turned hermit, as sometimes they did: the danger to those coming into contact with our friend would not then be increased through confidence in the garb of official position and the protection of authority.

The *Viaje* went through many editions, and became so widely known, that the name the hero earned for himself, "el caballero del Milagro", became the equivalent of the French "chevalier d'industrie" and is frequently met⁹⁵ in later picaresque literature.

The omnipresence of the *pícaro*⁹⁶ no longer

required the autobiographic form; we begin to find him in every place, and the greatest name in Spanish literature has also ennobled this Proteus of wickedness.

VI.

CERVANTES.

Original in everything he wrote; penetrating into all the circumstances of life, and foreseeing how the very virtues of the Spaniards of old would show themselves ill-adapted to the new environment in which they were to be transplanted, Cervantes brings before us the *pícaro* as no one else has done. Aleman had shown us the beggars' associations in Italy,⁹⁷ with their statutes and their chief; Cervantes, familiar with the lowest types in the paradise of Spain, tells us of their fraternity under the leaderships of the gigantic figure of Monipodio.⁹⁸ So faithful is the portrayal, so accurate his sense of detail, that his character etching has enabled an attentive critic⁹⁹ to reveal to us, after the lapse of centuries, the place where that iniquitous band used to gather and plan their exploits.

Cervantes passes through Salamanca, and his stay is long enough to impress indelibly upon his mind the "aunts" and their "nieces" who kept alive the legendary name of Celestina.¹⁰⁰ At Valladolid the dogs of the hospital gathering alms for the sufferers

suggest to him the kaleidoscopic series of adventures gathered under the name *Coloquio de los perros*.¹⁰¹ The gipsies and their wanderings, their poetic appearance and their uncompromising disregard of all authority save that of their own chiefs, inspire the immortal story¹⁰² of Preciosa.

The clever and witty Ginés de Pasamonte, more dangerous for his shrewdness, unrestrained even in chains, and able to impersonate manifold unsuspecting characters, is rapidly photographed¹⁰³ as he flits by in his changing form. The innkeeper turns Don Quijote's ideal of a true knight into farce¹⁰⁴ by showing his own *faits et gestes* as equal to those which the knight of the Woeful Figure is striving to accomplish. The young men of high family, who desert their comfortable homes for the untrammelled liberty of picaresque life, find in Cervantes¹⁰⁵ the reporter who surprises their every word, follows their every step, and writes up their happily ending peregrination for the enjoyment of the readers of all ages.

When our author's misplaced confidence lodges him in the horrors of the prison at Seville, his spirit is on the alert even in such surroundings, and no official record, however conscientious, could have placed before us a more complete description¹⁰⁶ of the untold misery, the never ceasing injustice, and the satanic revelry that are encompassed by those dungeon-walls. When Cervantes tries his powers in the drama, the *pícaro* is there, the hero of the play,¹⁰⁷

which may justly be called a picaresque comedy.

And after leaving this rogues' gallery reproduced in indelible colors—a striking collection among the most precious of the house of Fame—he dies in poverty, courageous and chivalrous to the last, but with the doubt as to whether his life had been well spent, and whether his work would accomplish what he had intended. Posterity, long blinded by the glare of the footlights and the pomp of loud-mouthed actors, has at last placed his name above those of all others who ever wrote the language of Spain, and no Spaniard who reads but knows by heart, as he knows his prayers, the words that fall from the lips of Don Quijote, the wisdom of the nations that is stored in the memory of Sancho, the adventures and mishaps that befall this immortal pair.

But only those of cultivated taste have learned to appreciate the *Novelas Ejemplares*. While it is difficult to meet a Spaniard who does not consider the *Quijote* the greatest work of all literatures, even cultured persons will be unfamiliar with Cervantes' shorter prose writings. I do not yield to the most confirmed and enthusiastic "Cervantista" in admiration of the genius that fills every page of the *Quijote*, but greater still, in my estimation, is the power that speaks from *Rinconete y Cortadillo* and the *Coloquio de los perros*. The *Quijote* may cause us to meditate again upon the relative merit of ideals and common sense, of egoism and altruism; but the perfection of form, the absolute composure

of the author, the singleness of purpose, and the unequalled distribution of light and shade, make his shorter stories even dearer to me than the history of the immortal hero of La Mancha. The flaws we discover in them are not to be blamed on Cervantes: they are due to careless editing, and when they have been corrected, ¹⁰⁸ nothing is left to displease the most fastidious critic. Had Cervantes found the opportunity to write *his* picaresque novel, we should no longer consider Lesage's *Gil Blas* the father of our modern *roman de mœurs*. As it is, Boccaccio in his most felicitous moments has nothing to equal Rinconete; and the *pícaro* of Cervantes, even after we know such characters as Lazarillo and Guzman, is a revelation equal to an invention. ¹⁰⁹

A statement of Vicente Lafuente, ¹¹⁰ that in order to know the *pícaro* thoroughly it is necessary to read the lives of saints, is astounding, and I have not been able to convince myself of its accuracy. It becomes probable, however, if we consider that the *pícaro* is sometimes represented in very pious garb.

VII.

THE VIAJE DEL MUNDO, BY CEVALLOS.

This work was written by a man who, when he produced it, had for years (at least so he himself asserts) been an efficient missionary in the West

and East Indies. Nothing seems to be known about him but what he saw fit to communicate, and he makes no mystery of what he had done. When young he had led a dissolute life, fighting duels on the least provocation; leaving for America when circumstances grew too threatening for him in Spain, and leading in the New World the usual wicked life of the *Conquistadores*, until at last, being severely wounded in battle, he recognised the evil of his ways, reformed, became a priest, and set out to convert the heathen.

It is peculiar — perhaps it may be due to the spirit of the times — that the story of the events of his bad life is much more readable than that of his experiences in virtue. Not only does the author repeat himself continually in the latter history, but besides, it gives the impression of not having been written with the same enthusiasm and predilection for his subject as the first part. Though he proudly relates the conversion of twelve thousand Indians in one day, his style is much more vivid, his account more animated, and his language much easier, when he tells us how he held his own against four ruffians at Seville, or killed a man who claimed a bunch of flowers which a lady had dropped at our author's feet from a window. For parts like these the book ¹¹¹ deserves a place in our series, and I am supported in this view by no less an authority than Ternaux Compans, who reworked this part of the *Viage* into a little book ¹¹² that seems to be

one of the last specimens of the avowedly picaresque novel.

By this time the *pícaro* is so firmly established in literature that we hardly can open a book but we find him. Everybody had experiences of a picaresque nature, and in whatever form he wrote, sometime or other the story would be told. It was customary to have some personage of a book relate stories; if these stories happened to be an account of one's own life, they always became picaresque. A fine specimen of this class is met in the

VIII.

PASAGERO, OF SUAREZ DE FIGUEROA.

Here we find four people who start out in summer from Madrid to Barcelona, in order to embark there for Italy. To relieve the tedium of the journey they converse on a great variety of subjects, and one, "el Doctor", who has traveled and read a great deal, is the most important talker. For the first time in the course of the present study the word *capítulo* is discarded: the chapter of this work is called *alivio*, while all kinds of titles were given later to the divisions of these books.

The author is a sarcastic individual who vents his objections to everything and everybody; his name being given on the title page with the epithet "el Doctor", we may suppose that the long account

given of his own life by the Doctor of the story is really the author's autobiography, adorned and adapted to suit the purpose. The more readily will we agree to this, as little is known of the real events of his life-history, and a supposedly authentic contribution to our knowledge of the man is welcome. ¹¹³

The value of the book consists mainly in the information we receive from it about the state of literature at this time. Besides this, the *pícaro* plays a conspicuous role, not only in the author's, or let us say, the Doctor's, account ¹¹⁴ of his life, but also in the best written part, the autobiographic story ¹¹⁵ of the *ventero*, the innkeeper, one of the worst specimens of his decried class. All in all, the little work is a striking example of Spanish prose writing early in the Seventeenth century, and though presented in the form of conversation, the interest never flags; for the insight into character shown by the writer, gives a tone of reality that is not equalled in other compositions which resorted to this artifice of style.

It is supposed, but we have no certainty for the assumption, that Figueroa describes his own life in his *Pasagero*; the same may be said of the work that follows next in chronological succession, and ranks far above it in literary value. If the author's life were known in detail as we are acquainted with it in outline, this novel would perhaps even gain in interest. At all events, it is one of the master-

pieces of Spanish picaresque literature, though many esteem it even more for the celebrated controversy that centres in it, than for its actual undoubted merit as a picaresque production.

IX.

MARCOS DE OBREGON, BY ESPINEL.

The author, ¹¹⁶ even without this novel, would hold an important place in Spanish literature, having invented a form of verse which, from its first appearance, has held public favor, and having made improvements in the guitar from which dates the general, almost exclusive, popularity of that instrument in place of the older *vihuela*. His poems are estimable, though their tone is sometimes ¹¹⁷ of an order that might offend a chaste sense of propriety, and his scholarly attainments enabled him to compose many laudatory verses, Latin and Spanish, for various publications of his friends, while he was not unfrequently called upon to give to the official press censors of his time his appreciation of new works.

So great was his reputation that the publisher of *Obregon* paid a very high price ¹¹⁸ for the copyright of this novel. The public, though it has always continued to esteem the book, seems, however, to have grown rather weary of further picaresque novels,

for the editions follow one another at long intervals, and of prose works of larger scope it was only *Guzman* and *Quijote*, among the older productions, that continued to appear in frequent reprints.

The *Obregon* is, like the two last-named novels, the work of an old man; but while Aleman and Cervantes had suffered, they had not aged as Espinel clearly had. There is a tone, an indescribable trend of weariness running through his book, for which impression his wild life may account. The hero also being an old man who relates his experiences, the buoyant spirit of the *Guzman* is sadly lacking here, and the *escudero* relates not the tricks he played himself, in which the recollection of his boyhood might have inspired him, but various comical and remarkable personal reminiscences of his meeting with curious characters. The perfection of the language, however, grows upon the reader, and perhaps also it is the pleasure of meeting well-known personages of Gil Blas' host of acquaintances that makes us appreciate *Obregon*.

It may be said that Lesage has revived the interest in Espinel, who otherwise would have been assigned a place among the literary curiosities; as it is, the interest that the Frenchman aroused for the history of the *pícaro* and his literature, has placed *Obregon* in a conspicuous position. And this the work would deserve of its own merits, for language, for unaffected prose style, for curious and well-told stories,¹¹⁹ for carefully delineated characters, and for mention

of several historic personages, various traits of whose character are recorded only here. ¹²⁰

That Obregon and Espinel are identical is apparent from many passages ¹²¹ in the story; still, though many events must be considered as having been actually passed through by Espinel, there are some ¹²² which it can be proved are fictitious, and thus it is here no easy task to discriminate in every instance between history and fiction.

Espinel, who had led a very stormy life, might perhaps have written a greater work by recording frankly everything he experienced from early youth to old age, and by placing before the public the result of his views in regard to his own actions as an example and a warning. Though such was ¹²³ his professed purpose, there are strong indications ¹²⁴ that he more particularly intended the book for the delectation of his friend and patron, the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo (who had also befriended Cervantes), Don Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, who, only too well acquainted with Espinel's life, could not have been edified by seeing his sinful protégé make a public confession in print.

The time for such works was not far distant; but the spirit of the times not yet being so cynical that everything could be acceptable as "human documents", when a real autobiography appeared in Spanish it would in the main be a record of duelling and feats of arms. Of such productions we shall presently find some examples. In historic

succession, however, two other works claim our attention that have the peculiarity of having been written in France, the one by a Spaniard, the other by a Frenchman, though both are in Spanish.

The number of Spaniards was great at the French capital; many of them made a living by teaching their language, as did the author of the second and best continuation of *Lazarillo*, Juan de Luna. One of these Spaniards who made a living by teaching Spanish to Parisians may have been the author of the curious book that we shall now consider.

X.

LA DESORDENADA CODICIA DE LOS BIENES AJENOS.

The subtitle runs: "la antigüedad y nobleza de los ladrones" and indicates the scope of the work. The author, ¹²⁵ "El Doctor" Garcia, gives an account of his conversation with a prisoner, probably in some prison of Paris, who tells him of his experiences as a thief and proves that, to begin with Adam, everybody who has attained renown was a thief in some respects. The little volume is a noteworthy contribution to our knowledge of members of this class and of the characteristic vocabulary belonging to them and to their tricks. It is a clever composition, written in pleasant style, and contains much

information and many jokes not easily found elsewhere, while the author's extensive reading is frequently apparent in his allusions to literature. The little work might still have gained in value had the author seen fit to institute a comparison between Spanish and French thieves, as in another ¹²⁶ and more popular treatise he compared the two nations in their habits of life. From the latter, more than from any other contemporary source, we get a complete account of various peculiarities that are invaluable for the right understanding of obscure matters of dress and manners such as a native does not consider strange and striking, and a foreigner seldom consigns to writing.

The other work referred to above, that by a Frenchman, is a novel, greatly overestimated, if we are to judge by the price booksellers place upon it.

XI.

ENRIQUEZ DE CASTRO, BY LOUBAYSSIN
DE LAMARCA.

The story is bulky enough to satisfy the most eager reader, and insipid enough to make its chief merit consist in two facts therein demonstrated; namely, that the Spanish language was very popular outside of Spain, being studied and even written

by foreigners, and also, that it is possible for a foreigner to learn Spanish well enough to write books in it.

This is all I can say in favor of the production, which contains the account Enriquez de Castro gives of his uneventful and uninteresting life, in a way that makes us wonder how the author ¹²⁷ succeeded in filling so large a book with so little plot, circumstance, thought or reflexion. Had he continued to write short books, as his earlier *Engaños de este siglo*, improving his moral tone as he did his language, ¹²⁸ he might have attained an enviable place among Spanish story-tellers; as it stands, his chief production is an abortion, mentioned here only for the sake of completeness of repertory.

As Cervantes' *novelas* gave rise to several dramas, so one of his plays inspired a very fertile and clever author, dramatist himself of no small skill, to write a novel of the same name, the subject itself indicating that we should have here a picaresque novel, and the repute of its author warranting its importance.

XII.

PEDRO DE URDEMALAS, BY SALAS BARBADILLO.

Unfortunately the book is very rare, never having been reprinted, and I have not been able to obtain

even a view of the novel. It would be interesting to compare Cervantes' play and Barbadillo's reworking, which, to judge by other works of his hand, ¹²⁹ surely will hold a worthy place beside the original.

Of another book, *El Licenciado Talega*, the title of which leaves us to suppose that it may have been a novel, and perhaps of picaresque character, nothing is known except that a well-known Spanish printer ¹³⁰ early in the Eighteenth century puts the work among those of our author. In this classification, however, there may be a mistake, as we have an official ¹³¹ list of his genuine writings, in which list *Talega* does not appear.

Likewise I can only suppose, until further investigation enables me to determine definitely the authorship, that a story called *El pícaro amante*, which must have been written about this time, belongs to Barbadillo. Nowhere have I found this story mentioned, and the volume in which I had the good fortune to find it gives no names of authors, though some other stories therein ¹³² contained are well known to belong to definite writers and publications.

The *pícaro amante* is cleverly written, telling of two students who join a troop of vagrant actors; when the company breaks up they go to Italy, meet with reverses, return to Spain, stay at Valencia and at Valladolid, and here become servants to some noblemen. Their masters promise them wages, but when they demand them they are told that during their year of probation they should expect nothing

except board. So they begin to steal, and when they have collected a small fortune go to Seville, where the one, falling in love with a wealthy young lady, enters as a servant in her father's house and, pretending that he is a nobleman in disguise, succeeds in marrying the daughter, so that his future is assured.

Salas Barbadillo's novels have had a strange fortune: some of them have been translated into various languages, showing their popularity with the reading public, but in Spain they seem to have been largely forgotten for the all-absorbing drama. They are very rare, never having been reprinted since 1737, and of the one that is particularly picaresque in character, no Spanish copy has come into my hands, while an English and an Italian translation¹³³ are fine works. This is *El necio bien afortunado*, in which an eccentric old doctor tells the interesting story of his life to a young man who has called upon him to ascertain who this strange and inaccessible old man is. The old man has had curious experiences with his uncle, a village priest, in which he behaves as Lazarillo in the same circumstances; with a nobleman who is seeking an office; with various women whom he robs; as a student at Salamanca; as an alcalde, which position he obtained on account of his reputation as a fool; and finally, when he inherits his father's fortune because he is a fool, and on condition that he leave it to the most foolish of his children,

he vows to be a fool all his life. A second part to the work is promised, but not known to have been published.

As Barbadillo imitated others, so parts of this novel are found imitated in later authors. He would well repay a thorough study, which becomes the more necessary by reason of his intimate relations with various authors of his period: Lope, Cervantes and others, and of the general oblivion into which his novels have undeservedly fallen.

One of those who knew the *Necio*, reproducing some passages from it only a few years after the original had appeared, is the author of the next work that deserves our consideration.

XIII.

ALONSO, MOZO DE MUCHOS AMOS, BY ALCALÁ
YAÑEZ.

This work ¹³⁴ is now usually called *El donado hablador*, such being the subtitle which the author, el Doctor Jerónimo de Alcalá Yañez y Ribera, gave to his work. In it, a man who had seen much of the world tells a priest what he had gone through, what he had observed, to what reflections those observations had given rise, how he had tried to improve others by pointing out their failings, and how thereby he was always obliged to seek

a new place, since no one was pleased to have so talkative and pedantically strict a servant. The author has chosen the form of dialogue, the advantage of which is not clear to the reader, especially since there is but one interlocutor, who never comments upon what he hears but only puts in a few words to encourage the narrator to proceed with his story.

In still another respect this work differs from the novels heretofore considered: it contains many well-told anecdotes and fables,¹³⁵ in stead of pretentiously composed stories that are read off or related by persons with whom the hero chances to meet. Fables and anecdotes are so rarely found in Spanish literature of this time that it is worth while to draw attention to their occurrence in the *Donado*. Moreover, we find a useful contribution to our knowledge of the state of Spain in the chapters dealing with Alonso's experiences among the gipsies¹³⁶ and in a medical man's appreciation of his profession.¹³⁷ In all these regards, the *Donado* holds a prominent place among Spanish prose works of the period; a pity that a writer of such ability should have preferred the constraint of dialogue-form to the ease of the prose novel.

It is to be noted that Alonso, when last met, is a hermit, a worthy ending of an eventful life. Surprising though it sounds, the next work speaks of a person who, after fighting in many parts of the world, with provocation or without it, weary of military life became a *nun*: stranger still, the per-

son in question is known in history, and though the account we have in autobiographic form has a strong flavor of forgery, the facts there mentioned can be proved to be in general correctly related.

XIV.

LA MONJA ALFEREZ.

As in other lands and in other times, the generally prevailing spirit of adventure and longing for soldierly deeds was not confined to the men. The "hero" of the *Monja alférez* is a young lady of noble birth from Biscay, who runs away from her convent, serves some time as a page, then as a soldier, in Spain, Italy and America, distinguishing herself enough to gain an ensignship. Finally, she makes herself known to a bishop, who places her in a convent, from which a little later she gains permission to depart and is received with great admiration in Spain and Italy. The story abruptly ends in the midst of a quarrel which the heroine had provoked, she having obtained permission to continue wearing a soldier's costume.

The question arises as to the authenticity of this story. It is certain that in 1624 and 1625 appeared some broadside sheets ¹³⁸ about the "Monja Alférez", in which the greater part of her history was

told, and that plays ¹³⁹ were written in her honor. It is claimed that the *Life* was published in 1625, but no copy of this edition is known to exist at present. Ferrer del Rio ¹⁴⁰ edited it in 1829 from a manuscript that once belonged to Trigueros, the well-known falsifier of inscriptions. We might suppose that the *Life* would have been reprinted at some time, because the story is curious and of a class that could not fail to hold public favor. All these considerations make the doubt justified concerning its being a genuine production. No such questions arise in connection with

XV.

THE COMENTARIOS DEL DESENGAÑADO, BY
D. DIEGO DUQUE DE ESTRADA.

This is an authentic autobiography, ¹⁴¹ by a person well-known in history, though some parts of the account of his doings have not been confirmed as yet by contemporary documents. A man of rank, skilled in all the accomplishments which in his time constituted the equipment of a cavalier, sensitive enough as to points of honor to kill on slight suspicion; undaunted even among the horrible tortures that a corruptible judge inflicts upon him; gambling, fighting with everybody who provokes his anger; especially proud of his strength and dexterity in

swordsmanship; a good soldier when in the field, a sad reprobate when the country does not demand his services; a poet, composing plays with facility, and boasting of the success they achieved — such was the man whose life, written by himself, is a remarkable commentary on all the literature of the period. The work has not exercised an influence upon that literature, for it was unknown to the public until recent years, when it was published as an historical document. However, it should rank with the picaresque novel, for here and there it seems that the noble Duque adorned his tale to suit his convenience. The account of what we now consider reprehensible deeds also inspires the author, when in his old age he writes down his experiences, with a sort of compunction in which I am disposed to detect more regret for the happy times of his feats and pleasures than contrition and pangs of conscience. If the name had been disguised and the work had been printed two hundred and fifty years ago, it would have achieved fame as a novel, for as such it reads; we would have admired the power of invention of the writer, and his intimate knowledge of institutions, his frankness in exposing evils and his captivating style, in which everything superfluous is avoided. And, published in the days when it was composed, it would perhaps have given a somewhat different turn to picaresque literature, which was gradually beginning to deal with characters still worse and surroundings still more disgusting

than those that had inspired Aleman and his immediate successors. The greatest satirist of Spain gave us a great novel of the picaresque order, but his resources of language, of style and of wit are not sufficient to make acceptable the repulsive parts.

XVI.

LA VIDA DEL BUSCON, BY QUEVEDO.

Quevedo was particularly fond of contrasts, and his works, ¹⁴² ranging from the most elevated subjects, of religion and statesmanship, to the most scurrilous and obscene, are expressive of his wonderful mind. His command of language, in which he has not been equalled by any other Spanish author, is the despair of all those who attempt to fathom his meaning, and the rock upon which are shattered all his imitators. When a student he must have been the most typical of his comrades, embodying the highest aspirations and the lowest tastes, possessed of great powers of work and of perception; storing his memory equally with the wisdom of the Classics and the conceits of his contemporaries, with the exhortations of the Churchfathers and the ribaldry of the rascal. It is assumed ¹⁴³ that in those student days he composed the *Buscon*, but not until twenty years later, in the midst of official occupations, did

he give it to the world, who appreciated the novel as not even the most sanguine could have foreseen, edition succeeding edition in uninterrupted series until our day. With all classes does the *Buscon* mingle, and unmercifully does he show the wretched state of affairs that prevailed everywhere; wit is sparkling in every page, but when he relates¹⁴⁴ how he was feasted by the executioner, his uncle, a modern reader turns aside, and wonders how so much misery and depravity could ever have been a source of delectation to thousands of readers.

Though a second part is not explicitly promised, we should expect one when the story ends with Pablo's going to the Indies, where his bad instincts never desert him; the account of what he saw and did there would have been another proof of Quevedo's learning and talent, for only by study could he have been enabled to satirize the Spanish rule and people in the colonies.

The fact that the taste for picaresque literature was falling off is well demonstrated by the circumstance that only a production as clever and spicy as the *Buscon* passed through a great number of editions. Other authors wrote remarkable books of the picaresque class, but they never attained great fame, though some of them well deserved more consideration than they received. Only when a novel way of writing proved the happy invention of an author, did the public show its appreciation, of which we have a striking example in the fate of the

XVII.

SOLDADO PÍNDARO, BY CESPEDES.

The author had attained popularity by a former work, ¹⁴⁵ which had passed through many editions, and had been a new departure in literature as being chiefly devoted to the narration of love-adventures, told in a language which was already receiving the recognition it was destined to hold later as the ideal in literary style. To a modern reader the *Gerardo*, such is the name of the work, is wearisome, as well for the long succession of love affairs as also for the stilted mode of expression; but critics are inclined to overlook these defects because of the novelty of the subject—one that had not been attempted thus far in Spanish prose, and which was a step in advance toward a novel that should concede to the heart a place in prose literature by the side of the purse.

With these antecedents the *Píndaro* appeared. The author tells here of his falling in with the hero, who relates to him the history of his stupendous adventures. The variety of these experiences would satisfy the most fastidious taste; the language of the tale is sober prose, interlarded with loveletters in the most flowery style, so that all readers might find their preferences suited. We pass, as we read, through many countries, through pleasures and

horrors, through battles and through prisons; we associate with Grandees and join company with rascally innkeepers.

The public, however, did not like the book, and editions ¹⁴⁶ of it are few in number. Of course, the appearance of Quevedo's *Buscon* had to do with the lack of interest displayed for the *Pindaro*; but the falling off in public favor of the *pícaro*, unless his adventures were spicy enough to stimulate a satiated appetite, seems to date from about this time. Another proof of this is the fact that

XVIII.

RAIMUNDO EL ENTREMETIDO, BY VALDERRAMA,

though for some time fathered upon no less popular an author than Quevedo himself, ¹⁴⁷ did not awaken interest; and the little book has sunk into an oblivion which it does not deserve, containing as it does an interesting account of the way in which a rascal, *pícaro* or *embustero*, spends his day. Likewise some of the very best picaresque novels of this time, which offered also the novelty of dealing in the main with the adventures of roguish and unscrupulous women, did not find favor with the public.

XIX.

TERESA, ¹⁴⁸ TRAPAZA, ¹⁴⁹ AND THE GARDUNA, ¹⁵⁰
BY CASTILLO SOLÓRZANO. ¹⁵¹

These three, the last of which is a continuation to the second, were written and published in rapid succession, and are novels that rank high in the appreciation of those who esteem a literary work in spite of the adverse judgment of the author's contemporaries. These works were imitated in part ¹⁵² by a judicious reader like Lesage; one of them was continued in the best specimen of picaresque literature ¹⁵³ that Portuguese authors have produced; and in spite of all this favor they were not popular with the public. So great was this lack of popular esteem, that many bibliographers were not even aware of the existence of the *Trapaza*, a book which, by its very name, ¹⁵⁴ should have attracted attention, and which richly deserves its title; for trickery and deception are felicitously exposed in it, and well-known characters of the time ¹⁵⁵ are introduced as having been impersonated by the rascally hero.

The *Teresa* is also well worth a reading, even a careful study, for nowhere else in Spanish literature do we find a more lifelike and unvarnished account of the circumstances in which the actresses lived at this epoch; while the *Garduña*, the worthy daugh-

ter of Trapaza, cheats in manifold disguises with a skill that is hardly matched by Guzman himself.

To the *Teresa* a continuation ¹⁵⁶ was promised, as also to the *Garduña*, both of which never appeared. The former would have been more interesting than the latter, since it was intended to deal with misers, a class of people that, though frequently met in our picaresque works, is never treated exhaustively enough to satisfy us, except in the celebrated letters of the *Caballero de la Tenaza* by Quevedo. Here, however, the subject becomes farcical in stead of sufficiently authoritative to be considered as a treatise on the matter.

It is to be noted also, that Castillo still used the autobiographic form in the *Teresa*, discarding it in both the *Trapaza* and the *Garduña*, the first time since Cervantes' *Rinconete y Cortadillo*. The custom of making the hero relate the story was not, however, discontinued; the only specimens of really picaresque works that belong to Spanish literature after this date, followed the old established form, and, though the influence of the long succession of literary works that have been noticed is felt in later prose productions, these latter cannot be considered as belonging to the picaresque order.

Several years elapsed before a real picaresque novel appeared again; when this novel did appear, it was as a part of a larger work which is more a literary curiosity than a work of art.

XX.

THE SIGLO PITAGÓRICO, BY ENRIQUEZ GOMEZ.

As the title would indicate, this book ¹⁵⁷ is the account which a soul gives us of its various trans-migrations—an artifice of literary treatment which the author of *El Crotalón* had already adopted before this. The greater part of the work is written in easy verse, each embodiment constituting a separate satire upon various classes of society, especially the higher orders. The story, however, of the soul's existence in the body of Gregorio Guadaña is in prose, and forms the section that more immediately concerns us.

This section does not rank high as a literary production, since the adventures of the hero are nothing new and offer no attraction after all the scrapes through which Guzman and Rojas, the Donado and Trapaza had passed, while the witticisms are shallow, forcing a joke to the extreme and even in certain cases ¹⁵⁸ extending it over several pages. I wish, however, to draw attention to one short passage which is peculiarly the property of this story. Where in all the rest of picaresque literature we never find a word of pity for those whose suffering might be the price of the *pícaro's* comfort, in the *Guadaña* we notice the line: ¹⁵⁹ "it is better to be wrong and humane, than right and rigorous".

This sentiment is exceptional, as is also the personality of the author, who was of Jewish origin and, to insure his safety, had left the country, where in later years he was burned in effigy at the stake. He is an author of no mean rank, especially in dramatic productions. Lesage, who knew what was good in Spanish literature, made use ¹⁶⁰ of some parts of the *Siglo Pitagórico* for his *Gil Blas*. He did even more in regard to the next work we shall consider.

XXI.

ESTEVANILLO GONZALEZ.

Lesage seems to have highly esteemed this book, for after translating it into French, or rather reworking ¹⁶¹ it into a form better in accord with the plan of a novel, he embodied important passages of it in his masterpiece. I cannot help considering the importance of *Estevanillo* as greatly overestimated. The fact that certain battles of the Thirty Years' war are here described is regarded by some writers ¹⁶² as a great point in its favor; whether, however, the author was competent to pose as an historian may well be doubted when we observe the general unsoldierly tone of his story. A more consummate coward, according to his own confession, it would be difficult to find in literature, and though the

purpose in writing of his demeanor in battle must have been to entertain the reader, it is improbable that a buffoon would have distinguished himself in the field or been able to judge of military affairs.

Nor do we gather new information concerning the life of the soldiers; their gambling propensities fill all picaresque literature, and the manner in which they lived at the expense of the country is not so characteristic as the scenes in earlier works ¹⁶³ where we learn of the excesses committed by them against their own countrymen. If we add to these considerations, that the author likes to make a show of his capacity as a poet, and produces some so-called satirical verses of a poem without the letter *o*; that he considers the play upon words as the sum-mum of wit, and the *conceptuoso* language as particularly adapted to the expression of sorrow over the death of his patrons, there is little left that is favorable to the book. And yet, in spite of its defects, it met with a better reception from the public than others of its class, and has more than once been reprinted ¹⁶⁴ while other more meritorious stories were forgotten.

With the survey thus far given would end the history of the *pícaro* in Spanish literature, were it not that from time to time an avowed imitator had undertaken to write either his own life for the amusement of the public, or availed himself of the

picaresque form to moralize upon circumstances and conditions which he did not favor.

It may be asked why I did not include Lope's *Dorotea* ¹⁶⁵ in my enumeration of picaresque works. Without laying stress upon the dramatic form of the work, because it was not intended for representation, the subject seems to me to exclude it from a place in the class I have treated. It is a retrospective account of some love-affairs by Lope himself, in which he had borne himself far from nobly, and which, falling in his early youth, had filled all his life with a fond regret for the bitter pleasures they had afforded him.

The model for the work was clearly the *Celestina*, with whom Gerarda has unmistakable traits in common, and the perfection of Lope's only dramatic work in prose makes us regret that he should always have preferred verse when writing for the stage.

But though Don Fernando, in which character Lope himself appears before us, is unscrupulous enough to pass as a *pícaro*, his purpose is to see himself successful in love, and not to earn his livelihood by all means whatever, honesty excepted. And this being the distinctive character of the *pícaro*, the *Dorotea* cannot be allowed a place with the stories that make him their hero.

The *Periquillo el de las Gallineras* ¹⁶⁶ does not come in for a place in picaresque literature, for it is a series of moralizing speeches that Periquillo, a young person almost too good for this world, makes

to another young man who had sought his opinion on matters of good behavior. The author, Santos, was a good observer, as he has conclusively shown in several other writings¹⁶⁷ which are some of the most valuable documents concerning the life and habits of the second half of the Seventeenth century; but he lacked the imagination and the fondness for the picturesque wickedness of the lower classes that animate the novels we have thus far considered.

The story of *Don Fruela*, by Quirós,¹⁶⁸ is as curious as it is difficult to find. We read there of several practical jokes played upon a stupid and pretentious man, which are told with a relish that the reader irresistibly shares. It would deserve a study to determine whether Scarron's *Roman Comique* is indebted to Quirós for some of his ludicrous situations, but the picaresque element is absent in every regard,

The *pícaro* had gone from literature, but he rose to higher rank, transforming himself from the ragged scamp he used to be into the shape and garb of the courtier. Alberoni and Ripperda show us that sneakthieves and tricksters at cards were figures of the past: to rise to eminence, more pliability to the whims of others and less indifference to appearances was demanded in the new era.

In a humbler sphere than these two remarkable adventurers, the *pícaro* still retained some of his disregard for proprieties. Nothing better characterizes

the state of Spain in the Eighteenth century than the amazing fate of

XXII.

DIEGO DE TORRES Y VILLAROEL. ¹⁶⁹

Born of honest and hardworking parents, he attended for several years the University of Salamanca, devoting all his time to playing tricks upon the citizens of the town and to acquiring *habilidades*, such as dancing, music and masquerading. Thus fitted for the struggle of life, he runs away when about eighteen years of age, intending to go to Portugal. On the way he meets a hermit and stays with him for a time; when his evil doings make it impossible for him to continue there, he goes to Coimbra, poses as physician and dancing master, achieves great fame in both professions, but has to leave again for fear of the consequences of his incorrigible habits.

Having spent his earnings, he enlists as a soldier, deserts after a year's service, and returns home. There he reads some antiquated books on abstruse subjects, especially on Mathematics, and after six months of such preparation he begins to write almanacs, which achieve great popularity on account of their ambiguous prognostications and funny poetical introductions.

In order to free his name from the obloquy of

witchcraft which his predictions had gained for him, he asks permission to open a course in Mathematics in the University, and this was the first time in more than a century that this science was taught there. While he contemplates entering the clergy, a riot arises among the students; he participates in it and spends six months in prison.

Being released he goes to Madrid, where he suffers great poverty, until a doctor induces him to study Medicine. So he spends a month in learning by heart a textbook on the subject, passes some days in the hospitals, obtains for his father an official position in Salamanca, and starts out with a priest on a smuggling expedition. Having gone to great trouble to free a nobleman's house from mysterious noises, he is rewarded by a position in this household, where he continues to issue his almanacs.

He is advised to return to Salamanca and apply for the professorship in Mathematics. Academic positions being in those days dependent upon the votes of the students, he makes a farcical demonstration of learning and impudence, obtains the favorable decision of the voters, and is officially made Professor of Mathematics. In this new position he is very popular, and great numbers attend his courses for the sake of the jokes they expect of him; at the same time he succeeds in maintaining order in his lecture-room by throwing a heavy compass at the head of the first student who behaves disrespectfully. Five years he is a professor, in which

capacity he continues to play his foolish tricks, taking part in masquerades that mock the University proceedings; at the end of this period he is exiled on the accusation of having been instrumental in a bloody quarrel with a priest.

After being in exile in France and in Portugal he obtains permission to return to Salamanca; there he writes his life, of which five editions are sold in three months. In the meantime he becomes involved in various polemics, and to establish his orthodoxy he has himself ordained priest. He continues to write almanacs and numerous other little productions, all of which he carefully enumerates in successive editions of his autobiography. He also mentions certain pieces of embroidery that seem to have filled him with pride because of his skill in producing them.

At his request, in spite of the opposition of the University authorities, he is made an Emeritus, and in this capacity becomes administrator of the property of some noble families and historian of the University library at Salamanca. Having placed all this on record, he takes leave of the public with an edition of his complete works, in fourteen volumes, the last of which is his completed biography, and leaves us to wonder at such astounding adventures, which would seem too fantastic for a novel and yet are true history — the most characteristic piece of literature that the Eighteenth century has produced in Spain.

Shortly after the appearance of the first instal-

ment of Torres' autobiography, another professor proceeded to write his life history in imitation of Torres. This author is

XXIII.

GOMEZ ARIAS.

The passages ¹⁷⁰ which Gallardo gives from this production show that the writer tried to outdo Torres in pursuing a comical vein. As the little book is extremely rare, I have no further knowledge of it than the mention by Gallardo. The fact of its existence is brought forward here to show that imitators were always ready to take any hint as to how to please the public, and that the *pícaro*, though he still existed in several unexpected transformations, no longer was able to occupy for years the most important place as a subject for the inspiration of novelists.

The Eighteenth century saw Spanish literature given to servile imitation of the worst specimens of French dramatic art. In prose only Feijóo ¹⁷¹ and Isla ¹⁷² occupy a worthy place, the latter writing his famous *Fray Gerundio* ¹⁷³ — a bitter satire on the absurd mannerisms to which preachers of his time resorted in order to please their audiences. By his translation ¹⁷⁴ of *Gil Blas* he revealed to his countrymen the fact that beyond the Pyrenees Spanish literature was considered worthy of imitation.

It may be said that with the appearance of Isla's remarkable translation of *Gil Blas* the *novela picaresca* was resuscitated, for the question as to the originality of this famous novel has induced literary men to review impartially the whole field of Spanish prose writings, discovering new beauties at every step, and establishing irrefutably Spain's claim to the priority of invention of the *pícaro* as the father of the modern novel.

Besides Isla there were a few novelists of a certain merit who wrote satires upon the condition of political affairs and the manners of the higher classes. Of those who chose the former subject we may mention D. Fernando Gutierrez de Vegas; ¹⁷⁵ his novel, *Los enredos de un lugar*, is a bitter attack upon the scoundrels who, by their intrigues, bring flourishing towns to ruin and desolation. A mild satire upon the manners of the period is the book called *Viages de Enrique Wanton*, ¹⁷⁶ the first half of which is a translation from the Italian; but the latter part is an original production and valuable for many data on customs not recorded elsewhere.

Both these authors, however, can hardly be ranked with the writers of picaresque works, for we do not read of adventures, of wanderings in various garbs and disguises, of thieving and punishment. Of these deals the *Vida de Perico del Campo*, a picaresque story of little merit, which moreover belongs to French literature, ¹⁷⁷ having been translated, or as the translator proclaims, "restored to its original

language," towards the end of the Eighteenth century.

A little while earlier than this, appeared a book ¹⁷⁸ called *Aventuras de Juan Luis*, which might be picaresque if it were anything. Nothing happens in the whole story; no adventure, no trick, no joke lights up the dreariness of this most insipid of all books that ever came into my hands, and it is mentioned here only to warn against the perusal of its three hundred and twenty-eight pages.

In our century Spain has recovered from its long literary coma, and in the classic land of the *pícaro* his adventures have again been told. I do not class here ¹⁷⁹ the curious little book ¹⁸⁰ *Pedro Saputo*, which, entertaining though it be, describes the history of a legendary personage of Aragon and is mainly intended to give a novelistic form to the numerous traditions of that country, some of which are familiar in the folklore of other lands. The real picaresque novel was revived in the stormy revolutionary days, when there appeared

XXIV.

GIL PEREZ DE MARCHAMALO, BY MUNTADAS.

Well written, some parts indicating thorough familiarity with the conditions in which the hero moves, others rather too dramatic and studied to be

more than the author's conception of what may have happened in certain circumstances—in this work ¹⁸¹ we have the autobiographic account of a young, bright, unscrupulous man's vicissitudes, and of his rise from the humble state of a newsboy and match-vendor to the elevated position of a *diputado* and a minister of the Crown.

Realizing at the outset that scruples are a hindrance to advancement, he avails himself of all the means that our century offers to those who know how to thurn these means to good account. When by sly tricks he has obtained a small sum that enables him to dress becomingly, he gets a place on the staff of a newspaper; there his violent attacks on the party in power draw attention. The favoritism of friends helps him to a subordinate position in a government office, which he loses as a result of his newspaper work. Posing then as a hero and a martyr to his principles, he is made director of another newspaper, in which quality he is on the side of the highest bidder, and for efficient service his reward comes in the shape of a Governorship.

This new position gives him an opportunity to acquire wealth by conniving with dishonest administrators. He is elected to the *Cortes*, where his skillful oratory makes him a person of importance, so much so that finally he reaches the height of his ambition, becoming a Minister. Of course the Ministry is soon overthrown, and in this emergency our hero meets a distinguished Prelate who shows

him the vanity of all his past ambition, so that Gil Pérez reconciles himself to his fate, resignedly distributing to the poor his ill-gotten gains and withdrawing to a small country-town to lead in retirement a more useful and undisturbed life.

This is the course of the modern *pícaro*, and the political history of the country offers many personages whose names might figure on the title-page of our novel or represent many of the subordinate characters of the story. The only one for whom history offers no parallel is D. Roberto, the man who has himself elected to the *Cortes* only to speak the truths that everybody knows and no one regards, to exhort the representatives of the country to do their duty instead of being led by party considerations and the desire for their own profit.

A book like the *Marchamalo* is a literary record of the insincerity of modern Spanish political personages, but no immediate contribution to our knowledge of the times. As such, the newspapers and their history are sufficiently edifying, and to them the student of manners and customs will turn for information. And even the literary man places the modern picaresque novel on his shelves only as a *résumé* of the social history of the period, one phase of which it cleverly portrays and submits for commentation by the dry facts presented in the daily records.

Greater masters in the field of novelistic writing have reproduced parts of our century's history in

the form of assumed autobiographies of a fictitious person. The

XXV.

MEMORIAS DE UN CORTESANO DE 1815,
BY PÉREZ GALDÓS,

constitute a vivid account ¹⁸² of those eventful days, when the stubborn contest was waged between the autocratic rule of former centuries and the liberal aspirations awakened by the national struggle against Napoleon's invading armies. That the author chose a courtier for his hero was done in order to show the intriguing and selfish narrowmindedness of this class, now on the verge of losing their prerogatives and venturing all to withstand the current that is to sweep them from their exalted place. In representing this side of the question, now settled, the story deserves our interest, though otherwise the lack of stirring events, such as give life to the numerous other volumes of the great series called *Episodios Nacionales*, makes it one of the least entertaining of the author's works.

Much more eventful, brimming over with dramatic incident, and written in the powerful style peculiar to the author, is

XXVI.

PEDRO SANCHEZ, BY PEREDA.

This novel, ¹⁸³ one of the author's best, is the history of the experiences a young man gathered in the days of the revolution of 1854. Having come to Madrid in the hope of finding protection in a prominent personage, he is left to make his own way. In a newspaper office he rises to distinction, and achieves great fame in the revolt, in consequence of which he rapidly advances, even to a Governorship, which advancement is due in part to the support the afore-mentioned personage now sees fit to bestow upon him, together with the hand of his ambitious daughter. The end of our hero's political life comes when he discovers how he is made the instrument of peculations, and has been betrayed by his wife for the sake of upholding her social rank. Then he withdraws from the field, and retires to his native place to lead the life of an enlightened farmer.

This being in brief the plot of the story, the author finds in his memory and imagination delightful scenes of quiet domestic happiness; of an anxious father's solicitude for his son's advancement; of a young man's diversions in the Madrid of half a century ago; of literary meetings with such men as Breton, Ayala, Rubí and numerous lesser lights;

of the stormy days of the revolution; of the animated aspect of the city previous to that event, and the seething passions at the time of the struggle; of the country town and its rascally administrators; of expensive social functions in the Governor's mansion, and of a haughty woman who sacrifices everything to her shallow desire for show and recognition. Of all the larger works we have thus far considered, Pereda's novel ranks highest for literary workmanship. The hero is not a direct descendant of the Lazarillos and Guzmans; his probity, enthusiasm and willingness to sacrifice himself to his duty bear no relation to the motives that animate the ragged, thieving and selfish personages of the Seventeenth century novel. But he acquaints us frankly with many bad traits of his own character: his lack of sincerity in his correspondence with his father; his indulgence in questionable associations and pleasures; his neglect of worthy friends for the sake of moving in the best society; his mad ardor in the popular uprising; his blindness to many evident wrongs, when in his official position; his revengeful spirit when he is betrayed; his satisfaction when punishment falls upon those who had wronged him. All this, written as a supposed autobiography, is a satire upon the ambitious, who in their strife for advancement pass, unthinking, by their real happiness, and meet the punishment of their thoughtlessness. It is a satire also upon the official persons who uphold rank at the expense of their honesty; upon the young men

who in their quest of pleasure relax the strictness of their principles; upon the stupidity of the populace in their outbursts of wrath, and upon the inhabitants of cities who have no understanding of the advantages of rural life.

These characteristics class Pedro Sánchez with the *pícaro* of earlier times and his history with picaresque literature. One book like this, a typical modern novel, is full demonstration of the influence which this peculiar sort of writings has exercised upon that epic of modern times which we call the *roman de mœurs*.

CONCLUSION.

I might here appropriately close this summary review of picaresque Spanish literature, were it not that there are certain phases of modern Spanish life that have found expression in works which, though barely meriting the dignity of being considered literary, deserve notice because of their showing the imperturbable *pícaro* in unexpected surroundings, thus demonstrating again the adaptability of this class to all conditions that may offer a chance of thriving without work. When the Spanish Republic of 1868 proclaimed the liberty of religion and of creeds, various Protestant sects set about to de-catholicize the people who, as they supposed, would welcome the modern missionary who was to free them from the bonds in which they had for centuries been

confined. It is a matter of history ¹⁸⁴ that many well-meaning representatives of these several Protestant creeds became confiding victims of clever rascals who availed themselves of the opportunity to put into their own pockets an important part of the money lavishly furnished for higher purposes. When the movement no longer offered profit to such pretended converts, they withdrew from it, and some of them put on paper their experiences, in the hope of gaining thereby further advantages. The "Dr." Gago ¹⁸⁵ and the worthy Bon ¹⁸⁶ produced writings of this kind, which soon fell into the oblivion they deserved, but which may, in the course of time, be followed by further like material when the occasion again arises for the *pícaro* to assert himself.

For the *pícaro* is not dead. As long as a reward is held out for unscrupulous actions, there will be found persons willing to earn it; as long as the public is willing to read accounts of the doings of such persons, these accounts will be written; as long as the autobiographic form is thought a fit dress for these histories, new contributions to picaresque literature will appear. Let us hope that Spain, where so many rascals have been the heroes of works of art, may find only authors of high rank inclined to add new material to a future *History of the Novela Picaresca in Spain*.

Many of the works which it has been my task

to review in the course of this study, end with the promise of a continuation¹⁸⁷ of their respective stories, and it will not seem out of place, perhaps, if I should do likewise in concluding this sketch.

Picaresque literature is a mine of information concerning the habits, customs, ways of thinking, of dressing, of eating and drinking, of seeking diversion, of traveling, etc., of all classes in Spain during the time of the Habsburgs; and a study of this literature ought to include a sort of encyclopedia of our knowledge as far as it can be gathered from these sources.

Such a work would constitute a treatise of greater magnitude than the mere review of the books in question, and would naturally become a task of much patience and much time,¹⁸⁸ necessitating the arrangement by subjects of all the shorter and longer notices found in the great number of works which it has been my pleasure to enumerate. I can thus only leave for a future time an attempt to supplement the study of the literary aspect of the subject before us by a treatment of what our German friends call the "kulturgeschichtliche" side. May this opportunity not be far distant!

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1. F. Wolf (*Jahrbücher der Literatur*, Wien, vol. 122, 1848, p. 99): die Ironie wurde schon durch die Wahl eines ... Industrieritters, Vagabunden oder Gauners (Pícaro) zum Helden und Träger der Geschichte hervorgerufen; die Satyre aber durch die aus der Picardia entstandenen Lächerlichkeiten und Laster der Gesellschaft, und da sich diese Glücksritter auch in die höhere privilegierte eindrängten, so konnte auch diese indirect und daher mit mehr Sicherheit angegriffen und gezüchtigt werden.

A. Morel-Fatio (Préface to *La vie de Lazarille de Tormès*, Paris, 1886, p. II): Deux procédés ont concouru à la formation de ce genre...: le récit autobiographique et la satire des mœurs contemporaines.

Ticknor does not give a direct definition.

2. Navarrete (*Bosquejo histórico sobre la novela española*, p. LXVII): El verdadero padre de los libros picarescos fue el Lazarillo del Tórmes.

F. Wolf (*l. c.*, p. 99): die Gattung von Schelmenromanen ... wurde ihre Einführung und Ausbildung noch dadurch begünstigt, dass gleich ihr Prototyp ein Meisterwerk war. Wir haben damit das so berühmt gewordene "Leben des Lazarillo de Tormes" genannt.

A. Morel-Fatio (*l. c.*, p. II): L'histoire littéraire voit à juste titre dans notre roman le prototype de la nouvelle picaresque; elle fait du Lazarille le père de toutes ces gueuseries.

M. Menéndez y Pelayo (*Heterodoxos*, vol. II, p. 518): el Lazarillo de Tormes, príncipe y cabeza de la novela picaresca entre nosotros.

NOTES.

3. Covarrubias (*Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, 1st ed. 1611, reprinted: Madrid, 1674, *sub voce*): Pícaro, vide supra picaño ... esclavos. Y aunque los pícaros no lo son en particular de nadie, sonlo de la Republica para todos los que los quieren alquilar, ocupandolos en cosas viles.
Picaño, el andrajoso, y despedaçado, ...
4. *Diccionario de la Academia Española* (vol. V, 1737, *sub voce*): Pícaro, ra, adj. Baxo, ruin, doloso, falto de honra y vergüenza. ... Lat. improbus, nequam. ... Pícaro. Significa tambien astúto, taimádo, y que con arte y disimulacion logra lo que desea. Lat. callidus. astutus. vafer.
Picaño, ña. adj. Pícaro, holgazan, andrajoso y de poca vergüenza.
5. *Guzman* (Parte I, Libro II, Cap. II, Riv., III, p. 219, b.): ... creyeron ser algun pícaro ladroncillo ...
6. *ibid.* (Riv., III, p. 220, a.): ... acomódeme á llevar los cargos que podian sufrir mis hombros. Larga es la cofradía de los asnos, pues han querido admitir á los hombres en ella ... mas hay hombres tan viles que se lo quitan del seron y lo cargan sobre sí.
7. *ibid.* (Riv., III, p. 220, a.): sin ... otro algun instrumento, mas de una sola capacha.
8. (Riv., I, p. 128, a; 129, a.): ... muy descosidos, rotos y maltratados; ... la ventera admirada de la buena crianza de los pícaros ...
9. (Riv., I, p. 168, b.): mostraba Carriazo ser un príncipe en sus obras: á tiro de escopeta en mil señales descubria ser bien nacido ... en Carriazo vió el mundo un pícaro virtuoso, limpio, bien criado.
10. (Riv., I, p. 129, b.): ... preguntándole el asturiano que habian de comprar, les respondió que sendos costales pequeños, limpios,

NOTES.

ó nuevos, y cada uno tres espuelas de palma... en las cuales se repartía la carne, pescado y fruta, en el costal el pan...

(*ibid.*): ... ni les descontentó el oficio, ... por la comodidad que ofrecía de entrar en todas las casas.

11. *El Averiguador Universal* (Año primero, Madrid, 1879, p. 322, no. 254): Pícaros. En las ordenanzas municipales de una antigua ciudad de Castilla, redactadas en el siglo XVI, se dice: "No habrá en la ciudad más que doce *pícaros* y doce *ganapanes*, y para distinguirse usarán los ganapanes caperuzas bermejas, y los *pícaros* caperuzas verdes. El diccionario de la Academia no define lo que, según parece por las referidas ordenanzas, debía ser un oficio de la república...
12. *ibid.* (p. 340): Creo que la cuestión propuesta ... queda suficientemente desatada con decir que, según el Diccionario de Salvá, significaba antiguamente pícaro el "muchacho que está con su esportillo en la plaza para llevar los recados que le den."
13. Lope de Vega, *Esclava de su galán*, Jornada I, line 360; 791.
14. Covarrubias (*l. c.*, *sub voce*): Ganapan, este nombre tienen los que ganan su vida, y el pan que comen (que vale sustento) à llevar acuestas, y sobre sus ombros las cargas... y aunque todos los que trabajan para comer podrían tener este nombre, estos se alçaron con él, por ganar el pan con excessiuo trabajo, y mucho cansancio, y sudor: y assi por nombre mas honesto los llaman hermanos del trabajo, y en algunos lugares los llaman los de la palanca, porque con ellas suelen entre dos llevar un gran peso... ninguna cosa dà cuydado al ganapan, no cura de honra, y assi de ninguna cosa se afrenta: no se le dà nada de andar mal vestido, y roto, y assi no le executa el mercader... come en el bodegon el mejor bocado, y bebe en la taberna donde se vende el mejor vino, y con esso passa la vida contento, y alegre...
15. *Guzman* (Riv. III, p. 219, b; 220, a.): comencé à tratar el oficio de la florida picardía; la vergüenza que tuve... perdila

NOTES.

por los caminos... era bocado sin hueso, lomo descargado, ocupacion holgada y libre de todo género de pesadumbre.

16. *passim*, v. gr.:

Vivian de canastos y de escriños,
digo de esportellos, hechos tercios,
á fruterías, baratos, y ratiños:
... El mas pintado y grave no se aloja
menos en las cantinas del bodega
que á tiro de arcabuz mas vino arroja.
... Aquí es donde jamás se quita olla
de gran matalotage atarragada,
y á veces para el huesped pollo ó polla.
... No admiten herreruelo ni sombrero,
jubon de estofa, borceguies ó ligas...
... tu, picaro...
no sabes que es jarave ni socrocio;
por que la enfermedad su cuerpo huye
del cuerpo que procura risa y ocio.
... por honra ha de morir, aunque le pese,
el que á lo picaril no se anihila.
... ¡ O picaros amigos deshonorados,
cofrades del placer y de la anchura
que libertad llamaban los pasados!...

These quotations are from *La vida del pícaro, por galano estilo compuesta en tercia rima*, pp. 149—165 in: *Lazarillo de Tormes*, Paris, 1827, edited by J. M. Ferrer del Rio, who supposed (p. 21 of the "Advertencia del editor") that it was inedited, and says: "de bastante mérito, y que se atribuye por los inteligentes á Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza por la mucha analogía que tiene con el gusto y el estilo de este célebre escritor."

The poem was edited before, in 1601, as follows: *La vida del pícaro compuesta por gallardo estilo en tercia rima, por el dichosísimo y bienafortunado Capitán Longares de Angulo*,

NOTES.

Regidor perpetuo de la hermandad picaril en la ciudad de Mira, de la Prouincia del Ocio; sacada á luz por el mesmo Autor, á petición de los cortesanos de dicha ciudad. Van al fin las Ordenanzas picariles por el mesmo Autor. Valencia, junto al molino de la Rouella, 1601. 8^o, 8 hojas, according to Salvá (*Catálogo*, 1872, vol. II, no. 1861) who adds: "En la edicion de Ferrer no se encuentran estas *Ordenanzas*, que son en prosa."

I have not been able to see this book, which, though described in full by Salvá, is absolutely unknown to bibliographers.

From a different text, the origin of which is not indicated, *La vida de los Pícaros, en tercetos*, has been reprinted in: *Rimas de Pedro Liñan de Riaza, y poesías selectas de Fray Gerónimo de San José*, Zaragoza, 1876 (Vol. I of *Biblioteca de escritores aragoneses*, seccion literaria) pp. 39—50.

I wish here to express thanks to Prof. H. Wood for his kindness in allowing me to transcribe the poem from his copy of Ferrer's *Lazarillo*.

17. Covarrubias, *sub voce*. Academia, *sub voce*.
18. Körting, *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*, *sub voce*,
19. The legitimate derivative from *pica* is *piquero*; there is in the Spanish language no example of a word that, designating a person who uses a certain instrument, is formed by placing the ending-ro after the name of that instrument without even changing the accent.
20. Körting, *Lat.-rom. Wörterb.*, *sub voce* pícaro.
21. Printed in *Cartas de Eugenio de Salazar*, por D. Pascual de Gayangos (vol. I of the publications of the Sociedad de Bibliófilos españoles) and in vol. II of the *Epistolario español*, by D. Eugenio de Ochoa (Riv., vol. 62).
22. His letter IV, "en que se trata de los catarriberas", bears the date: Toledo, 15 April 1560. He, then, was thoroughly

acquainted with this class of people (about which see also *Romania*, III, p. 301) while our letter, the one numbered I in the editions, was written shortly after his arrival at court.

23. El henchimiento y autoridad de la córte es cosa muy de ver . . . y como no todo el edificio puede ser de buena cantería de piedras crecidas, fuertes y bien labradas, sino que con ellas se ha de mezclar mucho cascajo, guijo y callao, así en esta máquina, entre las buenas piezas del ángulo hay mucha froga y turronada de bellacos, perdidos, facinorosos, homicidas, ladrones, capeadores, tahures, fulleros, engañadores, embaucadores, aduladores, regatones, falsarios, rufianes, pícaros, vagamundos, y otros malhechores tan amigos de hacer mal, como lo era Cimon ateniense . . . de no hacer bien. (Riv., vol. 62, p. 283, b.).

24. . . . un rapás trainél,
Huron habia por nombre, apostado donçel,
Si non por quatorce cosas nunca ví mejor que él.
Era mintroso, bebdo, ladron, e mesturero,
Tafur, peleador, goloso, refertero,
Rennidor, et adevino, susio, et agorero,
Nesçio, perezoso, tal es mi escudero.
Dos dias en la selmana grand ayunador,
Quando no tenia que comer, ayunaba el pecador,
Siempre aquestos dias ayunaba mi andador,
Quando no podia al faser, ayunaba con dolor.

(*Libro de cantares del Arçipreste de Fita*, in Riv., vol. 57, p. 277, coplas 1593—95).

25. J'avois un jour un vallet de Gascongne,
Gourmand, ivrongne, et asseuré menteur,
Pipeur, larron, jureur, blasphémateur,
Sentant la hart de cent pas à la ronde,
Au demourant, le meilleur filz du monde.

(Clément Marot, *Épître XXIX*. Au roy, pour avoir esté dérobé. Page 195 in vol. I of *Oeuvres complètes de Clément Marot*, par M. Pierre Jannet, Paris, Marpon et Flammarion).

26. "El libro queda realmente innominado; cuando Juan Ruiz se refiere á el lo hace siempre en los términos más genéricos: trobas é cuento rimado; libro de buen amor; . . . romance, por último, esto es, obra compuesta en lengua vulgar. . . Libro del Archipreste de Hita le llama á secas el Marqués de Santillana". (Menéndez y Pelayo).

27. The most thorough study of the *Archipreste de Hita* is found in Ch. II, pp. LIII—CXIV, of the *Prólogo* to vol. III of the *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, Madrid, 1892, one of the most enjoyable and instructive pieces of criticism that M. Menéndez y Pelayo has written. He quotes Sanchez (p. CVII), Clarus and Wolf (CVIII—CIX), Puibusque, Puymaigre and Viardot (CX), who all agree to call the work a masterpiece, which opinion is shared by Amador de los Rios (CX) and Menéndez y Pelayo himself. A pity that a work of such importance has never been edited as it should be; Menéndez' requirements of a good edition (LVII) are certainly sufficient to cool the ardor of the most enthusiastic admirer and prospective editor.

28. For a complete description of the manuscript (Vatican 4806) and the editions (1531; 1561, Valencia; 1561, Barcelona; 1735; 1865), and a study of the contents and historical background, see A. Morel—Fatio, *Rapport sur une mission philologique à Valence*, Paris, 1885 (extrait de la *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes*, Années 1884—85).

29. Milá y Fontanals, *Oración inaugural*, leída ante el Claustro de la Universidad de Barcelona en la apertura del curso de 1865 á 1866 (quoted by Giles y Rubio, *Discurso*, Oviedo, 1890, p. 19, note 2); more explicitly in *Obras completas de D. Manuel Milá y Fontanals*, vol. III, Barcelona, 1890, p. 402, note 63: "ouvrage ingénieux et historiquement instructif, et qui contribuait peut-être à la conception de la novela picaresca"; while on pp. 214—219 he gives the contents of the *Libre de les dones* and arranges them so that they give the impression

of a *novela picaresca*, to which treatment he refers in note 22, p. XLV of the aforementioned *Discurso* (reprinted as introduction to the work: *De la poesía heróico-popular castellana* por el Dr. D. Manuel Milá y Fontanals, Barcelona, 1874).

30. Navarrete (*Bosquejo hist. sobre la novela esp.*, p. LXXX, note 1) says: "se imprimió en Sevilla 1559", but this is not the first edition. The editions are the following:

- I. 1513, in fol. without year, place, or name of printer; but the *proemio* in Latin and Spanish is dated 1 August 1513. According to Pellicer (*Biblioteca de traductores*, pp. 45—51) the translator, Diego Lopez de Cortegana, whose name is concealed, after the fashion of the time, in some Latin distichs, was arcediano and canónigo in 1515; he still lived in 1524, but nothing more is known about him. This translation is said to be made after the first Latin printed text, Venetia, 1504, and to agree in every respect with the original.
- II. 1536, Zamora, Tomaris, in fol. (Brunet, ed. of 1860, I, I, p. 366).
- III. 1539, Zamora, Pedro Tovan, in fol. (Brunet, *ibid.*).
- IV. 1543, Medina del Campo, Pedro de Castro, in fol. (on title: corregido y añadido, but it is a reprint of the edition of 1513).
- V. 1551, Anvers, Juan Steelsio, in 8°. (somewhat modernized).
- VI. 1559, Sevilla, (Navarrete, *l. c.*). In the same year it was ordered to be expurgated (in the Index of 1559, called *Valdés' Index*; see *Bibl. des Stutg. Lit. Vereins*, vol. 176: *Die Indices Libr. Prohib. des 16. Jahrh.*).
- VII. 1584, Alcalá de Henares, Hernan Ramircz, in 8°, (expurgated, greatly curtailed).
- VIII. Without place or date, reprint of VII.
- IX. 1601, Madrid, Pedro Sanchez, in 8°. (Pellicer says it gives the name of the translator, but he is mistaken).

31. "Los españoles, lo mismo aquí (that is, in Granada) que en el resto de España, no son muy industriosos y ni cultivan ni

NOTES.

siembran de buena voluntad la tierra, sino que van de mejor gana á la guerra ó á las Indias para hacer fortuna por este camino más que por cualquier otro". (p. 297 of: *Viajes por España*, vol. VIII of the *Libros de antaño*, Madrid, 1879; the passage is from the translation of the description of his journey to Spain, 1525—1528, by Andrea Navagiero, ambassador from Venice to Charles V.).

32. It seems wellnigh impossible to give a complete list of the editions of the *Celestina*. Even with all the bibliographical aids available at present, we find no editions recorded for certain years. When, on the other hand, we find some years credited with several editions, it is more than probable that a book of such popularity was printed at least once every year. The following list is as complete as I have been able to make it from various tables (Magnin, in *Journal des Savants*, 1843, p. 199; F. Wolf, in *Studien*, 1859, p. 290, note; Salvá, *Catálogo*, 1872, vol. I, p. 384—sqq.; Farinelli, *Spanien u. d. Sp. Lit. im Lichte der deutschen Kritik und Poesie*, Berlin, 1892; Brunet (1860), and Ticknor's *Catalogue*, Boston, 1879); to which comes opportunely Quaritch' *Biblioteca Hispana* (Cat. no. 148), London, February, 1895, which describes some of the rarest editions that this bookseller possesses, among them the oldest known edition, of 1499, which is offered for one hundred and forty-five pounds sterling.

1. 1499, Burgos (Quaritch).

Medina del Campo, 1499, mentioned by Aribau (Riv., vol. III, p. XII, note 2) is cited by no one else, and its existence is doubted by Salvá and Brunet.

2. 1500, Salamanca (unknown, but mentioned by the Valencia edition of 1514).

3. 1501, Sevilla (Quaritch).

Amarita, in the *Prólogo* to his edition of 1822, mentions one by Martino Polono, 1500; Salvá supposes this to be a mistake, and that Amarita

NOTES.

- confuses Martino with Estanislao Polono, the printer of 3.
4. 1502, (Magnin; Salvá; Quaritch).
5. 1502, Salamanca (Magnin; Salvá).
6. 1502, Toledo (Quaritch).
7. 1504, Sevilla (Salvá, p. 386, doubts its existence, though he finds the book announced in the catalogue of Gancía).
8. 1507, Zaragoza (Aribau; Salvá).
9. 1514, Valencia (Magnin; Salvá).
10. 1514, Milan (Magnin) } Salvá says these two editions are
11. 1515, Venice (Magnin) } in Italian.
12. 1518, Valencia (Quaritch).
13. 1523, Sevilla (Magnin; Quaritch; Salvá says it was made in Venice).
14. 1525, Sevilla (Magnin; Salvá).
15. 1525, Barcelona (Salvá).
16. 1525, Venice (Magnin; Salvá says: in Italian).
17. 1526, Toledo (Magnin; Salvá).
18. 1528, Sevilla (Salvá).
19. 1529, Valencia (Magnin; Salvá).
20. ±1530, Medina del Campo (Salvá).
21. 1531, Barcelona (Wolf).
22. 1531, Venice (Magnin; Salvá; Quaritch).
23. 1531, Burgos (Salvá).
24. 1534, Venice (Magnin; Salvá).
25. 1534, Sevilla (Magnin; Salvá).
26. 1535, Venice (Magnin; Salvá).
27. 1536, Sevilla (Magnin; Salvá).
28. 1538, Toledo (Magnin; Salvá).
29. 1538, Genoa (Magnin; Salvá).
30. 1531, Sevilla (Magnin; Salvá).
31. 1539. Antwerp (Magnin; Salvá; Quaritch).
32. 1540, Lisbon (Salvá).
33. (1540?) Medina del Campo (Magnin).
34. 1545, Zaragoza (Magnin; Salvá).

NOTES.

35. ±1545, Antwerp (Salvá; Quaritch).
36. 1545, Antwerp (Magnin; Salvá).
37. 1550, Sevilla (Wolf).
38. 1553, Venice (Magnin; Salvá; Quaritch).
39. 1555, Zaragoza (Salvá).
40. 1556, Venice (Magnin; Salvá says: reprinted title of 1553).
41. 1558, Salamanca (Magnin; Salvá).
42. 1561, Cuenca (Salvá).
43. 1561, Barcelona (Quaritch).
44. 1562, Sevilla (Salvá).
45. 1563, Alcalá (Magnin; Salvá; Quaritch).
46. 1566, Barcelona (Magnin; Salvá).
47. 1569, Alcalá (Magnin; Salvá; the first that bears the title *Celestina*).
48. 1569, Salamanca (Magnin; Salvá).
49. 1570, Salamanca (Magnin; Salvá).
50. 1571, Cuenca (Magnin).
51. 1573, Toledo (Magnin; Salvá).
52. 1575, Sevilla (Wolf).
53. 1575, Salamanca (Salvá).
54. 1575, Valencia (Magnin; Salvá).
55. 1575, Alcalá (Salvá).
56. 1577, Salamanca (Wolf; Salvá).
57. 1585, Barcelona (Wolf).
58. 1586, Alcalá (Farinelli; Ticknor *Catal.*).
59. 1590, Antwerp (Salvá).
60. 1591, Alcalá (Magnin; Salvá).
61. 1595, Antwerp (Magnin; Salvá).
62. 1595, Tarragona (Salvá).
63. 1599, Antwerp (Magnin; Salvá; Quaritch).
64. 1599, Sevilla (Salvá).

For studies of the *Celestina*, see Aribau, (in Riv., III, pp. XII—XVII); Ticknor (transl. by Julius, I, pp. 214—219); Wolf (*Studien*, pp. 278—302); Klein's rhapsody (*Geschichte des Dramas*, vol. VIII: *Das Spanische Drama*, vol. I, pp.

NOTES.

838—928); Menéndez y Pelayo (*El Liberal, Diario de Madrid*, 6 April, 1894).

33. 1. Ticknor (I, p. 221) mentions a play by Mendoza († 1644) that he calls *Calisto y Melibea*, while Barrera (*Catál.*, p. 250) calls it *Celestina*.
2. A *Celestina* by Calderon is mentioned by Barrera (p. 55).
3. *Comedia Tebayda* (1521; 1546 together with *Comedia Serafina* and *Com. Hypolyta*; reprinted: vol. 22 of *Col. de libros raros ó curiosos*, Madrid, 1894).
4. *Comedia Eufrosina* (in Portuguese, by Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos; written 1527, printed 1560; 1566; 1616; transl. into Spanish by Ballesteros 1735, greatly curtailed, as the work had been prohibited by the Quiroga *Index* of 1583).
5. *Segunda Celestina*, or *Resurreccion de Celestina* (by Feliciano de Silva; 1534; 1536, Venice; 1536, Salamanca; ± 1550, Antwerp; prohibited by the Valdés *Index* of 1559; reprinted: vol. 9 of *Col. de libros raros ó c.*).
6. *Tercera Celestina* (by Gaspar Gomez, 1536 according to Panzer and, after him, to Brunet; 1539, Salvá, *Catál.*, no. 1269; Salvá's copy now in Bibl. Nac., Madrid; Salvá supposes that the editions, of 1537 mentioned by Ticknor I, 219, and of 1559 given by Barrera, p. 174, are due to mistakes on the part of these writers).
7. *Cuarta obra y tercera Celestina* (also called *Lysandro y Roselia*; by Sancho de Muñon, 1542; reprinted: vol. 3 of *Col. libr. r. c.*).
8. *Comedia Policiana* (1547; 1548).
3. *Comedia Selvagia* (by Alonso de Villegas Selvago, 1554; reprinted: vol. 5 of *Col. libr. r. c.*).
10. *Comedia Florinea* (by Juan Rodriguez, 1554).
11. *Comedia Salvaje* (by Romero de Cepeda, 1582; reprinted: in Ochoa's *Tesoro del Teatro*, vol. I; its first two acts are made from the first four of the *Celestina*).
12. *Dorotea* (by Lope de Vega, 1632; 1654; 1675; 1735,

where it is called "octava impresion"; reprinted in Riv. 34, vol. 2 of *Comedias escogidas de Lope de Vega*.

N.B. The *Hispaniola* of Juan Maldonado may have been another imitation of the *Celestina*, but the work is unknown (see Menéndez y Pelayo, *Heterod.*, vol. 2, p. 74, note 1); the *Farsa Costanza* of Cristobal de Castillejo, 1522, that never was printed, was lost in 1823; the *Lozana Andaluza* of Delicado or Delgado, about 1528 (reprinted: vol. 1 of the *Col. libr. r. c.*, and with French translation by Bonneau, 1888, 2 vols.), though bearing on title-page: "Contiene muchas más cosas que la *Celestina*", has nothing to do with the *Celestina*; *La lena* of Alfonso Velasquez de Velasco, 1602 (reprinted in the same year under the title *El celoso*, and in 1613 with title *El celoso (La lena)*, repeated by Ochoa in vol. 1 of his *Tesoro del teatro* under title *El celoso*) is a rather distant imitation. Likewise the *Egloga de la tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* by Pedro Manuel de Urrea (printed in his *Cancionero*, 1513; reprinted in the *Cancionero de Urrea*, Zaragoza, 1878, vol. 2 of the *Biblioteca de escritores aragoneses, sección literaria*), which versifies the first act of the *Celestina* (for specimens, see Aribau, *l. c.*, XVII—XX, footnotes). Moreover, there is the *romance* (described by Salvá, vol. 1, p. 394), the only known copy of which is in the library of D. M. Menéndez y Pelayo (8 pp., fol., black letter).

The works of Salas Barbadillo: *La ingeniosa Elena hija de Celestina*, and *La escuela de Celestina*, bear no relation to the original work. Neither does Salazar's *Segunda Celestina* (see Salvá, I, p. 465), the real title of which is *El encanto es la hermosura, y el hechizo sin hechizo* (reprinted: Riv., vol. 49, vol. 2 of *Dramáticos posteriores á Lope de Vega*).

34. The only passage that I am able to construe thus is found in Act 14 of the *Celestina* (Riv., 3, p. 59, b.): "¡O cruel juez, cuán mal pago me has dado del pan que de mi padre comiste! Yo pensaba que podia con tu favor matar mil hombres sin temor de castigo....¿Quién pensara que tú me habias de

NOTES.

destruir?" In the imitations, no invective of this kind against authorities is found.

35. Not having had an opportunity to study from the sources the history of Spain in the first half of the Sixteenth century, I can only refer to Ticknor, I, pp. 357—358; Lafuente, *Historia de España*, Barcelona, 1883—1885, 6 vols. fol., vol. 2, pp. 325—611; and to Lauser, *Der erste Schelmenroman, Lazarillo von Tormes*, Stuttgart, 1892, Einleitung, pp. 1—24, where he extracts from Sandoval many anecdotes characteristic of the time.

36. Arvède Barine has made this the subject of his cleverly written article: "Les gueux d'Espagne. Lazarillo de Tormes." (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 Avril 1888, pp. 870—904).

37. I quote *Lazarillo* from Kressner's edition (*Bibliothek Spanischer Schriftsteller*, Bd. X, Leipzig, 1890).

The clérigo, Lazarillo's second master, though having a dozen loaves (p. 18, l. 5, 12, 17, 28) in his provisionchest, begrudges Lazarillo every crumb (p. 15, l. 32); he eats "cinco blancas de carne . . . para comer y cenar" (p. 15, l. 29).

38. Por Dios, si con él topase (with a señor de título) muy gran su privado pienso que fuese, y que mil servicios le hiciese, porque yo sabria mentille tan bien como otro, y agradalle á las mil maravillas . . . y no quieren ver en sus casas hombres virtuosos, ántes los aborrecen y tienen en poco y llaman necios. (p. 37, end; p. 38, l. 14—16).

39. Canónigos y señores de la iglesia muchos hallo; mas es gente tan limitada, que no los sacaré de su paso todo el mundo (p. 37, l. 20).

This refers to the priests of Toledo, of whom Navagiero (*l. c.*, p. 256) says: El arzobispado vale ochenta mil ducados al año; el Arcediano tiene seis mil ducados de renta, y el Dean de tres á cuatro, y creo que hay dos. Los canónigos son muchos, y ninguno goza de menos de setecientos ducados; tiene la catedral otras rentas y hay muchos capellanes que alcanzan

NOTES.

doscientos ducados al año, de modo que los amos de Toledo y de las mugeres precipue, son los clérigos, que tienen hermosas casas y gastan y triunfan, dándose la mejor vida, sin que nadie los reprenda.

40. The clérigo of Maqueda: toda la laceria del mundo estaba encerrada en este, no sé si de su cosecha era, ó lo habia anejado con el hábito de clerecía (*Laz.*, p. 15, l. 5—8).
41. The escudero: habia dejado su tierra no mas de por no quitar el bonete á un caballero su vecino (p. 36, l. 10), and in his own words: aquel de mi tierra que me atestaba de mantenimiento (*i. e.*, who saluted him with: mantenga Dios á vuestra merced) nunca mas le quise sufrir, ni sufria, ni sufriré á hombre del mundo, del rey abajo, que: manténgaos Dios me diga (p. 37, l. 6—8).
42. vine (the escudero) á esta ciudad pensando que hallaria un buen asiento . . . mas no quiere mi ventura que le (*i. e.*, un señor de título) halle (p. 37, l. 18; p. 38, l. 19).
43. reille mucho sus donaires y costumbres, aunque no fuesen las mejores del mundo; nunca decille cosa con que le pesase, aunque mucho le cumpliese (p. 38, l. 1—3).
44. The ciego: desde que Dios crió el mundo, ninguno formó mas astuto ni sagaz . . . sacaba grandes provechos con las artes que digo, y ganaba mas en un mes que cien ciegos en un año (p. 6, l. 24; p. 7, l. 4).
 The buldero: el mas desenvuelto y desvergonzado . . . cuando por bien no le tomaban las bulas, buscaba cómo por mal se las tomasen, y para aquello hacia molestias al pueblo. Y otras veces con mañosos artificios . . . (p. 40, l. 24; p. 41, l. 16).
45. al pasar por la tripería, pedí á una de aquellas mujeres, y dióme un pedazo de uña de vaca con otras pocas tripas cocidas (p. 31, l. 6—7), while before he had gone: por las puertas y casas mas grandes que me parecia (p. 30, l. 32) and it had

taken all his skill "aunque en este pueblo no había caridad" (p. 31, l. 2, 5) to get a supply of bread.

46. como el año en esta tierra fuese estéril de pan, acordaron en ayuntamiento que todos los pobres extranjeros se fuesen de la ciudad, con pregon, que el que de allí adelante topasen fuese punido con azotes (p. 33, l. 31).
47. el lastimado de mi amo, que en ocho días maldito el bocado que comió... Y velle venir á medio día la calle abajo... y por lo que tocaba á su negra que dicen honra tomaba una paja de las que aun asaz no había en casa, y salía á la puerta escarvando los que nada entre sí tenían (p. 34, l. 10—48).
48. O señor,... que nos traen acá un muerto.... Aquí arriba le encontré, y venía diciendo su mujer: marido y señor mío, ¿adonde os llevan? A la casa lóbrega y oscura? á la casa triste y desdichada? á la casa donde nunca comen ni beben? Acá, señor, nos le traen. Y ciertamente cuando mi amo esto oyó, aunque no tenía por que estar muy risueño, rió tanto que muy gran rato estuvo sin poder hablar (p. 35, l. 24—30).
49. Un día... en el pobre poder de mi amo entró un real... y me lo dió, diciendo: toma Lázaro... ve á la plaza y merca pan y vino y carne, quebrems el ojo al diablo (p. 34, l. 24—29).
50. The prólogo quotes Plinio: "no hay libro, por malo que sea, que no tenga alguna cosa buena", and Tulio: „la honra cria las artes". Page 6, l. 36 mentions Galeno; page 15, l. 4 Alejandro Magno; page 30, l. 12, the many "dulzuras que Ovidio escribió".

Comparing this with the endless quotations from Seneca, Aristotle, etc., that are found in the *Tebayda*, the *Segunda Celestina* of Feliciano de Silva, the *Lysandro y Roselia*, all of about the same time, it seems safe to say that the author of *Lazarillo*, had he been a man of letters, could not have failed to quote more, and more explicitly. Morel-Fatio

(Préface, p. XVI—XVII) says: "je chercherais aux alentours des frères Valdés . . . N'y aurait-il pas aussi quelque lointain cousinage entre notre nouvelle et un livre bizarre, mal composé, mais plein de détails de mœurs curieux, *El Crotalon*? . . . l'esprit en est à bien des égards le même."

In the *Crotalon*, the author of which may, according to Gayangos (see Menéndez y Pelayo, *Heterod.*, II, 358) have been Cristobal de Villalon, we find (p. 164) the allusion "las batallas que uvieron los atunes en tiempo de lazaro de tormes" to the *Segunda Parte of Lazarillo* (1555).

M.-F. himself supposes (Préface, p. XII) that the *Lazarillo* may have existed in manuscript twenty years before publication. Of this there is a partial corroboration. In the *Lozana Andaluza*, written in 1524 though printed in 1528, we read (*Libros Raros ó c.*, vol. I, p. 180): "Yo no soy lazarrillo, el que cavalgó á su agüela", an allusion to one of the tales of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. This seems to indicate that lazarrillo was a name given to a person of whom naughty tricks and simplicity were an attribute.

51. Not to quote page upon page from various *Celestinas*, I give the following striking fact. In the *Lysandro y Roselia* (p. 168), Brumandilon, a "rufian", speaks of "el dios Ulcano con todos los ciclopas sus herreros", saying: "á unos escolares oí estos nombres." In this fashion even unlettered persons like the author of *Lazarillo* may have become acquainted with what little classical learning we find in the book.

In the same work (p. 41), Celestina reproves Drionea, setting before her the example of la Calventa "que primero recibe que da; si no traen dineros, que dexten prendas. ¿ Donde tenias los ojos ayer quando la fuimos á visitar? ¿ No miraste la alhaja de atavios, y la rima que tenia llena de decretos y Baldos, y de Scotos y Avicenas y otros libros?" Under these circumstances, classical references may become common everywhere.

52. *v. gr.*, p. 19, l. 8: este arqueton es viejo y roto por algunas partes, aunque pequeños agujeros; p. 22, l. 6: acordaron los

vecinos no ser el raton el que este daño hacia, porque no fuera menos de haber caido alguna vez; p. 24, l. 6: mas de como esto que he contado oi, despues que en mí torné, decir á mi amo; p. 29, l. 21: ¿ quién encontrará á aquel mi señor, que no piense, segun el contento de si lleva, haber anoche bien cenado; etc.

53. (Prólogo, p. 2, l. 12): Y pues vuestra merced escribe se le escriba y relate el caso muy por estenso; (p. 3, l. 1): Pues sepa vuestra merced; (p. 6, l. 20): Huelgo de contar á vuestra merced estas niñerías; (p. 7, l. 6): mas tambien quiero que sepa vuestra merced; etc.

54. Nicolas Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispanica Nova*, 1783, vol. I, p. 291; Tribuitur enim nostro [Mendozæ] juvenilis ætatis, ingenio tamen et festivitate plenus, quem Salmanticae eiucubasse dicitur, libellus, scilicet: Lazarillo de Tormes indigitatus, quamvis non desit qui Joannem de Ortega, Hieronymianum monachum, hujus auctorem asseret, Josephus videlicet Seguntinus, in eius ordinis historiae lib. I cap. 35.

55. Brunet, *Manuel* (1862): Hurtado de Mendoza: *Lazarillo de Tormes*, 1553, in-16, Anvers, que nous n'avons pas vue.

In fact, no one has seen the book; the existence of an edition of 1553, however, seems more than probable, since, whether the Burgos volume of 1554 or that of Antwerp of the same year be the earlier, the two coincide so closely, the one of Burgos being more correct than that of Antwerp, and slightly modernized, that it seems necessary to conclude that they were made, not one upon the other, but both after a common prototype.

56. When Morel-Fatio wrote his study of *Lazarillo* (1888, in vol. I of the *Etudes sur l'Espagne*), he could only indicate the existence of the Burgos edition at Chatsworth, in the library of the Duke of Devonshire. Lauser has had a friend give him a complete description of that copy; Prof. H. A. Rennert has collated a few pages with Kressner's edition, and kindly sent me these for inspection. I had myself collated Kressner with

NOTES.

Antwerp 1554, and arrived at the conclusions given in note 55.

Neither bears other date than 1554; the more strange is it that the Alcalá editon of 1554 should say: "nuevamente impressa, corregida y de nuevo añadida en esta segunda impression" and have the date 26 February.

57. Burgos, Juan de Junta, 1554.
Antwerp, Nucio, 1554.
Alcalá, Salzedo, 26 February 1554.
Antwerp, Simon, 1554 (with second part).
58. Valdés' *Index* of 1559 prohibits first and second part.
59. Morel-Fatio (*Préface*, p. XX) quotes from Juan de Velasco's preface to the expurgated edition of 1573, which I have not seen: "Quoiqu'il fût prohibé en ces royaumes (le *quoique* est joli) on le lisait et imprimait constamment au dehors. C'est pourquoi . . . nous y avons corrigé certaines choses pour lesquelles il avait été prohibé."
60. Menéndez y Pelayo (*Heterod.*, II, 519): Es de todo punto nécia é impertinente, y el anónimo continuador dió muestras de no entender el original que imitaba Lo que habia empezado por novela de costumbres, acababa por novela submarina, con lejanas reminiscencias de la *Historia verdadera*, de Luciano.
61. *ibid.*: Su obra se imprimió dos veces: una en París, 1620, y otra tambien en el extranjero, aunque dice falsamente Zaragoza, en 1652.
62. *ibid.*: El continuador se llama H. de Luna, intérprete de lengua española, y desde la primera página manifiesta su enemiga contra el Santo Oficio, "a quien tanto temen, no solo los labradores y gente baja, mas los señores y grandes: todos tiemblan cuando oyen estos nombres, inquisidor é inquisicion, más que las hojas del árbol con el blando céfiro."
63. Having seen the book only once, three years ago, when looking up other matters, I know only that the author, Juan Cortés de

Tolosa, published in 1617 at Zaragoza a little uninteresting work, *Discursos morales*, many parts of which also occur in the *Lazarillo de Manzanares, con otras cinco novelas* (Madrid, 1620), for instance, a passage: "El valiente y el médico". The *Lazarillo de Manzanares* contains nothing of interest, and is clumsily and affectedly written. Ticknor (I, 401) says: sie hat zu ihrer Zeit keinen Eindruck gemacht und ist längst vergessen.

64. French: 1561, by Jean Saugrain.

Dutch: 1579, without translator's name.

English: 1586, by David Rowland.

German: 1617, by Niclas Ulenhart.

Italian: 1622, by Barrezzo Barrezzi.

Latin: in Gaspar Ens' Latin translation of *Guzman*, (about which, see below, my note 78). Having seen only the Dantzig edition of 1652, I do not know whether it also is embodied in that of 1623 [not of 1624, as Ticknor says he has also seen mentioned (II, 216, note 1)]. In that of 1652, it is found pp. 74—115, occupies the place of the story of Osmin and Daraja (*Guzman*, Part I, Book 1, Ch. 8), and gives the stories of the negro Zayde, the blind man, the priest, the escudero, and of Lazarillo's marriage, neatly but concisely translated.

65. I have already (note 50, at end) drawn notice to the occurrence of the name "lazarillo" in 1524, in the *Lozana Andaluza*.

Lazarillo, "el que tuvo 350 amos", is mentioned in 1559 in Timoneda's *Menechmos* (in Moratin, *Origenes*).

In the *Cancionero de Sebastian de Horozco*, Sevilla, 1874, we find (p. 157—175) a "Representacion de la Historia evangelica del capitulo nono de Sanct Joan", the actors of which are: el ciego á nativitate; Lazarillo su criado.

Unfortunately the author's dates are uncertain; he wrote between 1566 and 1570. The fact that nothing more definite is known of him precludes surmises as to the question whether he might have written his *Representacion* before 1554.

66. Morel-Fatio (*Préface*, p. XIX): Flairer un danger ne se dit

NOTES.

pas autrement que 'oler el poste', et au XVII^e siècle déjà la locution était usée à force d'avoir servi: un auteur comique, Luis Quiñones de Benavente, la traite de cliché (*civilidad*).

I have not been able to verify this quotation.

67. *Much ado about nothing*, Act II, Scene 1: Now you strike like the blind man: 't was the boy that stole your meat, and you will beat the post.
68. Bredero, *De Spaensche Brabander Jerolimo*. The author died in 1617, and this play, his last, was his masterpiece (see Dr. Jan ten Brink, *G. A. Bredero*, Leiden, 1887—89, vol. III, pp. 194—208).
69. I transcribe here a well-written page from Arvède Barine, *Les gueux d'Espagne* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 Avril 1888, pp. 870—904):

Il (Philippe II.) ne sortit plus de son cabinet, toujours écrivant, compulsant, annotant, lisant tout: lettres, mémoires, statistiques, rapports, suppliques, et se rappelant tout; donnant lui-même ordre à tout; réglant et réglementant tout; les mouvemens de ses flottes et le prix du blé, la lutte contre le protestantisme et les purgations de ses enfans, les tortures à infliger et le moment où il mettrait son habit neuf. Il écrivait le jour, il écrivait la nuit. On l'attendait pour une fête: il écrivait. La reine l'attendait: il écrivait. La nouvelle d'un désastre arrivait: il écrivait, écrivait. Depuis que la bureaucratie a été inventée, on ne vit jamais vocation aussi déterminée. Il était appliqué, laborieux, patient, infatigable, mauvais bureaucrate du reste: il était toujours en retard; un ordre urgent arrivait au bout d'un an. (p. 901).

And (p. 902): On comprend de quel poids pesait sur les esprits cette surveillance occulte, dont les effets éclataient aux yeux par l'infinité de disgrâces soudaines, de confiscations et de supplices dont le tableau est dans toutes les histoires... Les affaires ne se trouvaient pas mieux que les personnes d'avoir sur le trône un si grand plumitif. Le roi croyait trop aux vertus magiques du papier noirci.

70. Dr. Gaspar Caldera de Heredia, in his Ms. *Arancel político* (extracted in Gallardo, *Ensayo*, vol II, p. 176): Ya se pasó el tiempo de el César Carlos V, que premió las armas; de Felipe II el prudente, que premió las letras; que aunque hoy se premian, es á solos los dichosos que los lleva en brazos la fortuna.
Luis Fernández-Guerra, *Don Juan Ruiz de Alarcon*, Madrid, 1871, p. 61: la ambicion, alentada por el favoritismo y venalidad de los ministros de Felipe III, tan distintos de los del anterior reinado, iba llevándose á la corte á galope la nobleza en busca de pingües gobiernos, plazas en los Consejos, productivas mercedes y grandes ayudas de costa.
71. On his own authority we know that in 1568 he was "Contador de Resultas en la Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas del Rey". (*vid. Ortografia*, Mexico, 1609, fo. 77, vo. I wish to express my thanks to Prof. A. M. Elliott for lending me this valuable book).
72. In a letter signed Tomas Gonzalez, dated Simancas, 10 May 1819, adressed to Navarrete, the author of the *Vida de Cervantes*, we read that among the Simancas documents were found those pertaining to this matter (*Vida de Cervantes*, Madrid, 1819, p. 441).
73. For full description of the *Ortografia*, see Fernández-Guerra, *Alarcon*, pp. 68—72; 476; 478.
74. Title-page of *Guzman*, Brussels, 1600 (Gallardo, *Ens.*, vol. I, p. 135); Nicolas Antonio, *Bibl. Hisp. Nova*.
75. Ticknor (II, p. 213) makes this statement on the authority of one of Aleman's friends who wrote a foreword to the second part of *Guzman*. This piece is not reprinted in Riv. III; only parts of it are given by Salvá (*Cat.* no. 1699, at end), and not having seen the original editions, I cannot quote from them.
76. Quaritch's *Biblioteca Hispana* gives two editions of the *Proverbios Morales* by Alonzo de Barros († 1604; see Salvá, no,

2048), both of Lisbon, 1617, of which one, by Jorge Rodriguez, contains a prologue by Mateo Aleman that is not in the other. But there being also a dedication by Barros himself, these two pieces probably were reprinted unchanged from one of the earlier editions. Barros was an intimate friend of Aleman, and wrote the *Elogio* of Part I of *Guzman* (Riv. III, p. 187).

77. Aleman's knowledge of Italy: Riv. III, p. 242, b, at end; 246, b, middle; 288—289; 312, b, top.

About seafaring matters: Riv. III, p. 316; but being born at Seville, he may have gained his information there.

About the author and his purpose:

(Riv. III, p. 194, b) á ninguno está bien decir mentiras, y ménos al que escribe.

(p. 223, a): no quiero tener honra ni verla; . . . no pretendas lisonjeando, ni enfrasques, porque no te inquieten, etc.

(p. 226, b, middle—227, a, end): indirect remarks to the King.

(p. 247, b, first part): his experiences while trying to find a place.

(p. 265, Chapter II, second paragraph): "necesario es, y tanto suele á veces importar un buen chocarrero, como el mejor consejero"; this, together with (p. 265, a): "á veces le causará risa lo que le debiera hacer verter lágrimas", and (p. 186): "muchas cosas hallarás de rasguño y bosquejadas, que dejé de matizar por causas que lo impidieron", shows his desire of bringing about reform, and that he might have said much more, and more directly, if it could have been admitted.

(p. 266, b): about court-flatterers.

(p. 308): those without protection are at everyone's mercy.

(p. 330, Chapter III, beginning): the uselessness of all his remonstrations.

(p. 289, b): the example of Florence, where merit is rewarded, different in this respect from Spain, where to thrive, everything must be adulation.

78. L. F. Moratin, *Obras Póstumas*, Madrid 1867, vol.? p.?

Aleman's digressions and long moralizing discourses were

curtailed in translations. Bremønd's French translation of 1696 cut out some of these and lengthened others; Lesage (1732) left them out altogether (see Claretie, *Lesage romancier*, Paris, 1890, pp. 176—177).

Gaspar Ens' Latin translation (*Vitae humanae proscenium*, Colon. Agr. 1623, Dantzig 1652) was made from the Italian. We find in this work place-names in Italian spelling, *v. gr.* Cazzaglia; and proverbs like: "In Malagone, in ogni casa un ladrone". Moreover, in his *Epidorpidum libri IV* (Col. Agr. 1623) we read (p. 17) that he had made use of *La vita del Picaro Gusmano d'Alfarace*.

About his translation he says (*Vit. hum. prosc.*, Ad lectorem): "ita tamen ut non tam interpreti quam Autoris personam egerim." The original is greatly condensed in this translation, which ends in a way that seems to me a translation of the final chapters of Albertinus (about which, see Reinhardstöttner, in *Jahrbuch für Münchener Geschichte*, II, 1888, pp. 47—50).

About Ens and his relation to Spanish literature, see Menéndez y Pelayo in his review of Farinelli, *Spanien u. d. Span. Lit.* (in *España moderna*, Oct. 1894, p. 172.

79. I transcribe from the Sotomayor *Index* of 1667 (p. 794, b): "Miguel de Cervantes. Su segunda parte de Don Quixote, cap. 36 al medio, borrese: Las obras de Charidad que se hazen floxamente, no tienen merito, ni valen nada."

Compare with this, Guzman's (Riv. III, p. 221, a): "nunca perdí algun dia de rezar el rosario entero, con otras devociones, y aunque te oigo mormurar que es muy de ladrones y rufianes no soltarlo de la mano, fingiéndose devotos de nuestra Señora," etc.

(p. 246, a): "España, amada patria, . . . tambien tienes maestros que truecan las conciencias . . . ;

(p. 307, b): the powerful passage about hypocrites;

(p. 322, a): . . . el cielo. Con llave dorada se abre; tambien hay ganzuas para él.

80 Mateo Lujan, *Segunda parte de Guzman*, Libro III, cap. VII (Riv. III, p. 418, b—419, a) about the *Celestina* literature.

81. Luis Valdés, in *Elogio* to the 2nd part (extracted: Salvá, 1699; quoted: Ticknor, II, 214, note 1) says that he knew twenty-six editions. It is not possible to find dates and place of publication of this number of editions, but below will be found a calculation in support of the possibility of Valdés' assertion.

Brunet's supposition that the date of the *aprobacion*, 13 January 1598, may indicate an edition of 1598, falls before Quaritch's description (Catal. no. 361, January 1885, no. 26890) of the reprint, where he proves from the preliminaries that the year began with 1 March.

Since Salvá (no. 1694) says that he has seen the book and gives a complete description of it, I am led to believe that the *princeps* appeared without the word *pícaro* on the title-page, though neither here nor in the early reprints do we find the sub-title, "Atalaya de la vida humana", as Aleman claims he called the story (see Riv., III, p. XXVII, note 2).

Primera Parte.

Editions before the appearance of Part 2.

1. 1599, Madrid, Varez de Castro, in-4^o, with portrait.
(Salvá no. 1694; Brunet; Brit. Mus.).
2. 1599, Barcelona, Cormellas, 8^o.
(Heredia, no. 2576. Title: *pícaro*).
Quaritch (*Bibl. Hisp.*, no. 88) says it is in-12^o.
3. 1599, Barcelona, Gabriel Graells y Grialdo Dotil, in-8^o.
(Heredia, no. 2577. Title: *pícaro*. Pages identical with 2).
4. 1599, Zaragoza, in-12^o.
(Brunet).
5. 1600, Madrid, Juan Iníguez de Lequerica, with portrait.
(Quaritch, *Cat.* no. 361—1885—no. 26890. Aprob. 13 Jan. 1598; *i. e.*, 1599).
6. 1600, Paris, Nicolas Bonfons, with portrait.

- (Brunet: Spanish aprob.: Madrid, 1598; French; May, 1600).
 Gallardo (*Ens.* I, no. 210) does not mention portrait.
7. 1600, Barcelona, Cormellas, in-8^o.
 (Salvá, no. 1694; Heredia, no. 2578).
 8. 1600, Bruxelas, Mommarte, in-8^o.
 (Gallardo, I, no. 119; Heredia, no. 2579).
 9. 1600, Madrid, Varez de Castro, in-12^o.
 (Brunet).
 10. 1600, Coimbra, small 8^o.
 (Brunet: Antonio de Mariz, P. Genro et Herdeyro Diogo Gomez Loureyro; incomplete in Salvá, no. 1695, Heredia, no. 5933).
 11. 1600, Lisboa, in-4^o.
 (Salvá, no. 1695, after Quaritch, *Catal.* for 1866).
 Gancia's mention of an edition: Lisboa, 1600, Rodriguez, containing three parts, is recorded by Brunet, and rejected by Salvá (no. 1695).
 12. 1601, Madrid, Juan Martinez, in-8^o.
 (Salvá, no. 1696; Heredia, no. 2580).
 13. 1602, Sevilla, in-4^o.
 (Salvá, no. 1696, after Quaritch, *Catal.* for 1864).

Thus we find four editions for 1599, and seven for 1600. If there were also seven for 1601 and seven for 1602, this would give us, in all, twenty-five editions before 1603.

It can hardly be doubted that there appeared in 1601 and 1602 several editions besides the two placed on my list, for in subsequent years numerous editions continued to appear.

Moreover, it seems fairly probable that the genuine second part of *Guzman* did not appear in 1603, but in 1604 (see hereafter), in which case Valdés' remark about twenty-six editions of the first part would seem even less incredible.

Nevertheless, it is somewhat startling to find him so well informed, when the editions appeared in cities so far apart.

Segunda Parte.

Edited separately.

NOTES.

Brunet, after speaking of Part I, Madrid, 1599, says: "Cette seconde partie avait d'abord paru à Madrid, en 1600, in-4^o". Of this statement, see Salvá's refutation (no. 1694).

As to the date of publication of the second part, there are some difficult questions. F. Wolf (p. 160 of *Supplement* to Ticknor) repeats his statement of the *Wiener Jahrbücher d. Lit.* (vol. 122, p. 105) that there is in Vienna a copy dated Milan 1603. The *Jahrbücher* describe it: "Milan, por Jeronimo Bordon, 1603, mit dem ersten Theile zusammen", to which Wolf adds: natürlich müssen in Spanien frühere Ausgaben erschienen sein."

Now, the earliest known edition made in the Peninsula is Lisbon, 1604, the preliminaries of which state that Aleman handed in the book for official approbation while he was in Lisbon (see Salvá, vol. II, p. 112, b.). We know (see Navarrete, in Riv. 33, p. LXXI, note 1) that before writing his second part, Aleman wrote his *San Antonio de Padua*, of which very rare book I find no earlier edition mentioned than Sevilla, 1604 (Gallardo, vol. I, *voce* Aleman).

We thus have to suppose that the *San Antonio* was written very hurriedly (see Navarrete, *l. c.*) and sent to the printer in haste, but was not published till two years later. After this book, Aleman writes the second part of *Guzman*, makes a flying trip to Milan, has it printed, rushes back to Lisbon, prints it again, and leaves us to guess how it was possible to do all this. Perhaps the preliminaries of the Vienna copy of the Milan book of 1603 may solve the mystery, if that book is really Aleman's second part, and not Lujan's forgery (about which, see my note 87, no. 6).

1.(?)1603, Milan, Jeronimo Bordon.

(Wolf; Brunet says: J. Bordon y P. Locarno, small 8^o. according to a catalogue of Tross, 1851).

2. 1604, Lisboa, Craesbeek, small 4^o, with portrait.

(Brunet. Heredia, no. 2584, the only copy known).

3. 1605, Barcelona, Cormellas.

(Gallardo, I, no. 122; Heredia, no 5936).

NOTES.

Together with Part I, but separate volume and title (see Salvá, no. 1699; Heredia, no. 5935).

4. 1605, Valencia, Mey, small 8°.
(Ticknor, *Catal.*; Heredia, no. 2577).
5. 1605, Barcelona, Honofre Anglada.
(Brunet. Quaritch, *Bibl. Hisp.*, no. 89).
6. 1615, Milan, Bidela, in-12°.
(Salvá, no. 1700; Heredia, no. 2585).

Together with Part. I, but separate volume and title.

According to Salvá (no. 1701; Heredia, no. 2586), the first time the two parts were printed in one volume with the general title: *Primera y Segunda Parte* was in 1619, Burgos, Varesio. (see Salvá, no. 1700; Heredia, no. 2586). It seems, however, quite probable that, long before this, the two were printed as one work; likewise there should be many more editions than the few above mentioned.

82. Luis Valdés, quoted Riv., 33, p. LXXI, note 1.
83. Gallardo (I, no. 130) gives specimens. The two odes he mentions (Hor., II, 10; II, 14) were reprinted in only 100 copies: *Odas de Horacio, traducidas por Mateo Alemán*, publicalas nuevamente Manuel Pérez de Guzmán y Boza. Cádiz, Imprenta de la viuda de Niel, 1893, small 8°.
84. His *Ortografía* (Mexico, 1609) is reprinted in: Viñaza, *Bibliot. histór. d. l. filología cast.*, Madrid, 1893.
85. For contemporary appreciation of his language, see Riv., 33, p. LXXI, note 2.
Prof. F. M. Warren incorrectly says (*History of the novel*, New York, 1895, p. 314): "of the other works [than the *Guzman*] of his pen nothing has survived".
86. The most recent special treatise on Aleman (Joaquín Hazañas de la Rua, in: *Discursos leídos en la Real Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras*, el 25 de Mayo 1892, por los señores J. H. d. l. R. y D. Luis Montoto y Rautenstrauch, en la

NOTES.

recepción del primero. Sevilla, E. Rasco, 1892) adds nothing to our information.

87. The work was extensively read, as the number of editions proves; probably others took the book for genuine, as did Luis Valdés (see Riv., 33, p. LXXIV, note 1.), but when the fraud was discovered, the book was so completely forgotten that Nicolas Antonio did not even know it (see Fuster, quoted Riv., 33, p. LXXIII, note 2 of preceding page).

I find notice of the following editions:

1. 1602, Barcelona, Joan Amello.
(Quaritch, *Catal. no. 361*, 1885, no. 26893; Heredia, no. 2582).
 2. 1602, Valencia.
Salvá (no. 1880) says that the *aprobacion* of no. 3 proves that the book had been printed at Valencia. No. 7 has the *aprobacion* dated Valencia, 8 Aug. 1602.
 3. 1603, Madrid, Imprenta Real (Juan Flamenco).
(Ticknor, *Catal.*; Salvá, no. 1880; Heredia, no. 2580).
 4. 1603, Zaragoza, Tavanno.
(Salvá, no. 1880, from catalogue of Sora).
 5. 1603, Barcelona, Cormellas.
(Salvá, no. 1880, after Fuster).
 6. 1603, Milan.
(Salvá, no. 1880, says the *Dedicatoria* bears this date).
 7. 1604, Bruselas, Velpio.
(Gallardo, III, no. 2836; Salvá, no. 1881; Heredia, no. 2583).
88. The well-known passage in Aleman's *Guzman II*, Book II chapt. IV (Riv., 3, p. 298) proves this conclusively.
89. The spurious *Guzman II* contains a curious story (Book I, chapt. II); a very long disquisition on the nobility of the Biscayans (Bk. II, ch. VIII—XI); a description of festivities at Valencia (Bk. III, ch. X); most interesting of all, a passage about actors and plays (Riv., 3, pp. 418—422).

90. The better written parts, particularly in the first half of the book, may have been stolen from Aleman (see the quotation from Aleman, Riv., 3, p. LXXIII); but the thief spoils them by a show of learning not customary with Aleman (see Riv., 3, p. 369, a; 369, b; 372, a; 389, b; 392, b; 411, a; 412; 413) and frequently occurring constructions like *aunque-pero*. I am inclined to believe that what is good in the book belongs to Aleman; what is bad, to Martí, and I may some time be able to try to establish Aleman's share in the make-up of the book.

91. Editions :

1. 1605, Medina del Campo, Cristobal Lasso Vaca, in-4°.
(On the title-page: Lic. Francisco de Ubeda; privilegio; Fr. Lopez de Ubeda. Gallardo, III, no. 2795, says: with a plate among the preliminaries; Salvá, no. 1871: with double page 182. Heredia, no. 2588. Quaritch, *Bibl. Hisp.*, no. 827: with engraved frontispiece).
2. 1605, Barcelona, Cormellas, in-8°.
(Brunet. Salvá, no. 1871).
3. 1608, Brucelas, Brunello, small 8°.
(Ticknor, *Catal.*: with folded plate).
4. 1640, Barcelona, in-8°.
(Brunet. Brit. Mus.: by P. Lacavalleria).
5. 1707, Barcelona, in-8°.
(Brunet, quoted by Salvá, no. 1872).
6. 1735, Madrid, Zuñiga, in-4°.
(Ticknor, *Catal.*)

Salvá (no. 1873) gives an extract from Mayans' *Preface* to this edition, in which it is contended that the author was Fray Andrés Pérez, a statement not accepted by E. Mérimée (*Quevedo*, Paris, 1886, p. 157, note 2).

The "versos de pie quebrado" which we find in the *Justina* (in which Don Quijote is mentioned) have given rise to the

NOTES.

questions whether the *Quijote* was known before 1605, and whether Cervantes used this verse first.

Gallardo (III, no. 2795) gives the date of the *Privilegio* of the *Justina* as 22 August, 1604.

Barrera (p. 421) finds mention of the *Quijote* in a letter by Lope, dated 4 August, 1604.

Gayangos, in his *Cervantes en Valladolid* (reprinted, Madrid, 1884, from *Revista de España*, vol. 97—98), demonstrates that the *Quijote* was even known in 1603.

It seems, therefore, that Ticknor (II, p. 218, note) was right in assuming that Cervantes was the first to use this verse.

The pretentiousness of the *Justina* shows itself in the *Prólogo* (see Riv., 33, p. 47); the title-page (see Gallardo, III, no. 2795) promises fifty-one kinds of verse (the Brussels edition of 1608 gives only fifty). Its attempt at wit is evident in the headings of the introductory chapters: "Al pelo de la pluma"; "á la mancha"; etc.

Mayans (referred to by Ticknor, II, 218) considers this book one of the first to write "culto". It seems to me that in the middle of the Sixteenth century the foundation, if not the actual practice, existed. For example, in Feliciano de Silva's *Celestina* we find striking specimens, while in other *Celestinas* we meet frequent ironical remarks about such style, and, indeed, it looks as if Feliciano de Silva even mocks it himself.

92. The author might have had a fine opportunity to write a scathing satire on the "busconas", who surely must have existed in his days as they did a few years later, at the time when Navarrete complained of their great number (*Conservacion de Monarquias*, Madrid, 1626, p. 24). By taking *Guzman* as a model, a very instructive and curious novel might have been produced; in stead of this, though clearly wishing to continue *Guzman* (see *prólogo*, Riv. 33, p. 47) the *Justina* went off into witticisms of the most labored kind.

93. Schack and Barrera draw much information concerning the stage

NOTES.

about 1600 from Rojas; Barrera also succeeds in reconstructing the chronology of Rojas' life from this book so that it tallies with other data. For contents and bibliography, to which I am not able to add more facts, see Barrera, *sub* Rojas Villandrando.

94. Barrera makes extracts from this work, which is very rare; I have not succeeded in seeing it.

95. For instance, in the *Donado hablador*, Part II, of 1626 (Riv., 18, p. 564, a). Also in Quirós' *Don Fruela*, of 1656 (see Barrera). Since then, the expression seems to have disappeared. By the name *El caballero del milagro* we have several plays (see Barrera, *Index*), to which should be added that by Eguilaz, dealing with the history of Rojas himself (in Ochoa's edition of Eguilaz' works, Paris, Baudry, 1846).

96. Aleman, *Guzman* I, Libro II, cap. VII (Riv., 3, p. 230, b): Entonces éramos pocos, y andábamos de vagar; ahora son muchos, y todos tienen en que ocuparse, y no hay estado mas dilatado que el de los pícaros, porque todos dan en serlo y se precian dello.

97. I, Libro III, cap. II (Riv., 3, p. 241, b; 242, b); cap. III. Also Mateo Lujan, Libro II, cap. III (Riv., 3, p. 385, b—387, a).

98. *Rinconete y Cortadillo; Coloquio de los perros* (Riv., *Autores Esp.*, vol. 1, p. 212, b).
 The word *monipodio* (monopoly) is found in the *Crotalon*, p. 332: "ambos tienen hecho liga y monipodio en el trato de sus feligreses." Also in Mateo Lujan (Riv., 3, p. 407, a): "los monipodios que hacen, juntándose dos ó tres á comprar toda la mercaderia que habian de comprar muchos, haciendo entre sí alianza de los precios..."

99. Adolfo de Castro, *Varias obras inéditas de Cervantes*, Madrid, 1874, pp. 375—379.

100. *La tía fingida*.

The history of the vicissitudes of this story is well-known. Published first, with doubts as to its authenticity, by Arrieta (1814, incomplete), a better edition was made by Franceson and F. A. Wolf (Berlin, 1818). In 1826, Arrieta issued an edition that contained, from the Berlin edition, the parts he had not given in his first publication. Gallardo, in no. 1 of his *El Criticon* (Madrid, 1835), strives to prove the authenticity of the story, using another reliable manuscript (Bibl. Colomb., AA, 141, 4), giving the variants and showing how they improve the meaning and logical succession of ideas in the text. Printed once more, with these corrections, by Aribau (Riv., *Aut. Esp.*, vol. I, 1846) it has found its final form, and a careful commentator, in the *Obras completas de Cervantes* (Madrid, Rivadeneyra, 12 vols., vol. 8), and is a remarkably well-written story. The improprieties are in keeping with the subject, and not worse than the various *Celestinas*, to which the *Tía fingida* is a running commentary and *glosa* in prose.

101. E. T. A. Hoffman wrote a continuation to the *Coloquio de los perros: Nachricht von den neuesten Schicksalen des Hundes Berganza*; here, however, the author talks with the dog, chiefly about Hoffmann's experiences in Bamberg (see Georg Ellinger, *E. T. A. Hoffmann*, Hamburg, 1894, p. 80). The story is found in Hoffmann's *Phantasiestücke*, 4 vols., 1814—1815, vol. 2.

102. *La gitanilla*.

About the gipsies in Spain there is a vast amount of literature. To mention only the most accessible:

Clemencin, in his edition of *Don Quijote* (1835, 6 vols.), vol. II, pp. 473—478.

Juan Hidalgo, *Romances de germanía*, Madrid, 1779, pp. 201—222.

Bataillard, *Sur les origines des Bohémiens* (*Revue Critique*, 1875, nos. 39—41).

Borrows, *The Gypsies of Spain* (new edition: London, 1869).
 Rochas, *Les parias de France et d'Espagne*, Paris, 1876.
 Besides this, passages in various Spanish novels; for example,
Donado hablador, Part II, ch. II—IV (Riv., 18, pp. 543—553).

103. *Quijote*, Part I, cap. 22; Part II, cap. 27.

104. The ventero: *Quijote I*, cap. 3.

Regarding the *venteros*, it may be said that no class was of worse repute than they, and it would take a special treatise to show what Spanish and foreign writers have said of them. To mention only a few: *Quijote*, l. c.; *Guzman I*, Lib. I, cap. 3—6; Lib. II, cap. 1; Parte II, Lib. II, cap. 8 (Riv., 3, p. 313, b); *Justina*, Lib. I, cap. 3—4; Suarez de Figueroa, *El Pasagero*, Alivio 7; Gaspar Ens, *Vitae humanae prosecutionum* (Latin *Guzman*), Pars III, cap. 7; *Obregon*, Descanso XIII, Relacion 1; Salas Barbadillo, in: *La estafeta del dios Momo*, the chapter: *El ladron convertido á ventero*; etc.

105. *La ilustre fregona*.

Mateo Lujan (*Guzman*, Riv., 3, p. 374, a) says: "eché de ver en mi vida picaresca, que muchos hijos de buenos padres que la profesaban, aunque despues los quisieron recoger, no hubo remedio: tal es el bebedizo de la libertad y propia voluntad."

In the *Nouvelles Espagnoles de Michel de Cervantes*, traduction nouvelle avec des notes, etc., par M. Lefebvre de Villebrune (Paris, Defer de Maisonneuve, 1788, 2 vols.), I find (vol. 2, introductory remarks to the *Illustre Fregone*): "Ce n'est pas qu'il y eût plus de mœurs en France, en Italie, en Portugal; au moins les désordres n'étaient pas si publics chez nous. Thomas Lansius, dans ses Discours latins sur les mœurs et les usages des différentes nations, en apprendra plus au lecteur que je ne puisse dire ici. Voyez son discours sur l'Espagne, pag. 289, édit. 1637."

I have not succeeded in obtaining a copy of Lansius.

NOTES.

106. Navarrete, *Vida de Cervantes*, 1819, p. 87; pp. 435—sqq., especially p. 439, note 158.

Gallardo and Aureliano Fernández-Guerra supposed Cervantes to be the author of the *Tercera parte de la relación de la cárcel de Sevilla* and of the *Entremés de la cárcel de Sevilla* (see Gallardo, *Ensayo*, vol. I, col. 1336, note 2; 1341, note 1; 1366—1370; 1371, note 1; 1371—1384). The *entremés* also in *Obras*, vol. III of Teatro.

107. *Pedro de Urdemalas*, comedia, in *Obras*, vol. I of Teatro.

Emile Chasles, *Cervantes* (2^{me} éd., Paris, 1866) p. 411: "Cervantes a écrit le roman du gentilhomme et le drame picaresque du rufian. Pedro de Urdemalas, pièce fantastique et oubliée, est l'image de cette destinée perdue."

108. Salvá (no. 1816) describes the *Gabinete de lectura española*, Madrid, Viuda de Ibarra (about 1800), of which he says: "en el cuarto y quinto salieron las novelas de Cervantes, tituladas: Rinconete y Cortadillo, y El celoso extremeño, copiadas de un manuscrito de fines del siglo XVI ó principios del XVII, con variantes importantísimas de los impresos."

No one seems to have paid attention to this version of *Rinconete*.

In vol. IV of the *Gabinete*, *Rinconete* has a *prólogo*, in which it is stated that the text is taken from the Licenciado Fr. Porras de la Cámara (about whom see Gallardo, *Criticon*, no. I; and *Ensayo*, I, col. 1246—1247).

The *prólogo* (XVI pages) says:

(p. VI): "A cuatro capítulos pueden reducirse las diferencias de la novela impresa de R. y C., si se coteja con la manuscrita de Andalucía que publicamos. 1. Supresion de hechos, ó de circunstancias de ellos; 2. Alteracion de hechos etc.; 3. Añadiduras de expresion; 4. Discrepancia de palabras."

(p. VII): "Monipodio no se contenta con 'tantas letras tiene un sí como un no'; hace del ojo á Chiquiznaque, quien pega un gran bofetón á Rinconete; los dos muchachos echan mano,

pero Monipodio les apacigua, explicándolo como la pescozada de los caballeros. Luego les da noviciado de tres meses."

(p. IX): "La Cariharta dice: 'Marinero de Tarpeya' por Mira Nero de Tarpeya [compare here Duran, *Romancero* I, p. 393]. Neron entonces se nombraba en Castellano Nero, y aquél verso era en Sevilla tan conocido, que hasta la Cariharta lo sabía aplicar de su modo."

(p. X, XI): "Al fin de ésta novela se promete más larga relacion de la *vida, muerte* y milagros de estos ladrones y de su maestro Monipodio. Estas muertes son las que debían hacer 'exemplares' la narracion de estos sucesos."

(p. XII): "El primer robado en la Plaza de Sevilla es un *Clérigo*".

(p. XII): "El cojuelo que se había disfrazado en hábito de clérigo, y se había ido á alojarse en la Calle de Tintores, en la imprenta es judío. Siendo él de la cofradía de Monipodio, es imposible fuese judío, por ser los tales ineptos y repugnantes á la devocion que en casa de Monipodio se inculcaba. Tal judío *no hay* en la edicion que presentamos."

(p. XV): "El MS. dá á entender que la novela se escribió en Andalucía, el impreso en Castilla. Véase: impreso: Alcudia, como *vamos* de Castilla á Andalucía; MS.: viniendo de Castilla para Andalucía."

With the corrections, not found elsewhere, the story gains materially, and becomes perfect, except that the second part does not appear, a usual thing in picaresque novels.

109. For special bibliography of the *Novelas Ejemplares*, see L. Orellana y Rincón, *Ensayo crítico sobre las novelas ejemplares de Cervantes* con la bibliografía de sus ediciones. Valencia, 1890, in-8º, 46 pp.

Also, Rius, *Bibliografía Cervántica*, 2 vols. (in press).

110. In his *Historia de las Universidades de España*, Madrid, 1884—89, 4 vols., vol. III, p. 271.

111. This book is very rare; the copy in the Ticknor library is

incomplete (see Ticknor *Catal.*, p. 456, *sub* Ordoñez de Cevallos). Printed: Madrid, 1614. Book I contains the author's soldier life; Book II, his travels as a missionary; Book III repeats, in somewhat different form, all that is found in Book II.

The interest lies, not in the contents, from which nothing new is learned, but in the fact that the *pícaro* crops out in all classes of literature.

See Ticknor, II, p. 304, in note 1. about Suarez de Figueroa, where he mentions our book and another by the same author: *Relaciones verdaderas de los reynos de Cochín China y Champon*, Jaen, 1628, which I have not seen.

112. *Les aventures de Juan de Vargas*, racontées par lui-même. Traduites de l'Espagnol sur le manuscrit original par Charles Navarin. A Paris, chez P. Jannet, Libraire. 1853 (*Bibliothèque Elzevirienne*). See Ticknor, *Catal.*, p. 370, *sub* Ternaux Compans, where we find that he acknowledged his authorship to Ticknor.

Quérard's statement (*ibid.*), that the second part of *Vargas* is taken from the German *Simplicissimus*, is only partly correct. There is, as far as I can see, but one passage from *Simplic.*; all the rest is from Cevallos.

113. For Suarez de Figueroa, see Barrera, p. 379. Prof. H. A. Rennert has added some interesting facts about Figueroa's life in Italy (see *Modern Language Notes*, vol. VII, col. 398—410).

His works are very difficult to find, especially the *Pusilipo*, of which only the Salvá copy is known. I find notice of the following:

1602, Guarini's *Pastor Fido*, translated in tercetos.

(Salvá, no. 1274; Gallardo, no. 3983).

Reworked entirely, 1609.

(Salvá, no. 1275).

The edition of 1602 was reprinted in 1622.

NOTES.

- (Salvá, no. 1275, contrary to Gayangos' note to his translation of Ticknor, III, p. 543).
1609. *La constante Amarilis*.
(Salvá, no. 2002).
Reprinted, with French translation, 1614 (Salvá, no. 2003; Ticknor, *Catal.*, states: 3^a impresion).
1612. *La España defendida*.
(Salvá, no. 985; Gallardo, no. 3985).
Reprinted, and called: 5^{ta} impresion, 1644 (Salvá, no. 986; Heredia, no. 5646).
1613. *Hechos del Marqués de Cañete*.
(Salvá, no. 3408; Heredia, no. 3439; Ticknor, *Catal.*; see Ticknor, II, p. 107, note).
1615. *Plaza universal de todas ciencias*.
(Salvá, no. 2426; Ticknor, *Catal.*).
Reprinted, with many changes: 1733 (Salvá, no. 2427; Ticknor, *Catal.*; see Ticknor, II, p. 304, note 1., and *Supplement*, p. 183).
Prohibited in *Index* of 1790; not prohibited in Sotomayor *Index* of 1667.
1617. *El Passagero*. Madrid.
(Salvá, no. 2004; Gallardo, no. 3986; Ticknor, *Catal.*).
Reprinted, 1618, Barcelona. (Gallardo, no. 3987).
1621. *Varias noticias*.
(Salvá, no. 2006; Gallardo, no. 3988; Ticknor, *Catal.*).
1629. *Pusilipo*.
(Salvá, no. 2005; Heredia, no. 6151).

Other works that, according to Barrera (p. 379), are stated in the *España defendida* of 1612 to have been published at that date, are absolutely unknown. The *Residencia de talentos* was promised in 1621 (see Salvá, no. 2006), and thus could not have been published in 1612. The matter is obscure in the extreme, and may perhaps never be solved.

In the *Passagero* (Barcelona, 1618, fol. 281, r^o) the author says that he had published, up to that time, seven books. In

my list there are only six, including the *Passagero*; unless, indeed, Figueroa counted his reworked *Pastor Fido* of 1609 as a new book.

- 114. Alivio VI—VIII (Edition: Madrid, 1617: fo. 286—388; ed. Barcelona, 1618: fo. 213—288).
- 115. Alivio VII, fo. 307—346 (228—260).
- 116. On Espinel, see the biography in the new edition of *Obregon*, Barcelona, *Biblioteca Arte y Letras*, 1881, written by Juan Pérez de Guzmán, provided with a careful bibliography, and containing many new facts about the life and the book. Let us hope the editor many soon be enabled to fulfill his promise of p. X: "No puedo hacer aquí *in extenso* el trabajo documental que reservo para más propicias circunstancias."

I am not prepared to give here a list of Espinel's laudatory poems, and his criticisms at the beginning of various books. My material for such a collection is as yet too inadequate to be produced.

For Obregon and Gil Blas, or, to use the French formula, "la question du *Gil Blas*", see the exhaustive study in the admirable work, *Lesage romancier*, par Léo Claretie, Paris, 1890: pp. 190—250, for the history of the question; pp. 250—261, for a comparison of the two books. And Brunetière in *Histoire et Littérature*: "La question de Gil Blas", pp. 235—269.

After Claretie, Eugène Lintilhac has written for the series *Les grands écrivains français* the volume on Lesage (Paris, 1893) in which (pp. 78—86) he sums up the question.

On the Spanish side no one has done more thorough work than Adolfo de Castro, in his annotated edition of *Gil Blas* (Madrid, 1852, in the *Biblioteca Universal*, Segunda Serie, Entrega 78—86; 180 pages, large 8^o) where he gives the passages of Spanish authors which Lesage imitated. To those there given many more might be added, for since 1852 many books have again been studied which were forgotten or inaccessible at that time.

NOTES.

A. de Castro comes to the following conclusion: "El Gil Blas es una obra compuesta de diferentes piezas: un primoroso mosaico debido al ingenio y al buen gusto de Le Sage: un alcázar levantado con trozos de edificios griegos, latinos y árabes. Los materiales son ajenos: pero del arquitecto la invencion y estructura de fábrica tan notable." Comparing this opinion with that of Pérez de Guzmán (p. XXX), who calls Lesage "el autor francés poco escrupuloso, que ha usurpado á la fama española una de esas reputaciones, que en la esfera intelectual los frívolos escritores de Francia deben con suma frecuencia á los robos que practican sobre las literaturas extranjerías", the work of De Castro becomes the more noteworthy and important.

Espinel's *Rimas* were printed in 1591 (Gallardo, no. 2125) and have never been reissued. The volume is so rare that even Salvá did not possess a copy.

117. Salva's no. 196 contained in M.S. many poems by Espinel, some of which he transcribes, while others have to be omitted on account of their indecent character.
118. Juan de la Cuesta, the printer, stated that he paid one hundred escudos for the *Obregon* (at the end of the *Segunda parte de las Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio*, Madrid, 1618; see Barrera, pp. 680—681).
119. *v. gr.*, the story of the hidalgo's fight with the cows (*Rel. 1, desc. 8*); of the gamblers and the traders (*Rel. 1, desc. 13*), etc.
120. For example, "Don Fernando de Toledo, el tío, que por discretisimas travesuras que hizo le llamaron el Pícaro", (*Rel. 1, desc. 1*); a good story about the Conde de Lemos (*Rel. 1, desc. 24*); one about the Marqués de las Navas (*Rel. 2, introduction*), etc.
121. Especially the one (*Rel. 3, desc. 17*) where Obregon meets an old man, Pedro Jimenez Espinel, who says he wishes to find his nephew, and "¿Cómo se llama? pregunté; y respondiome con mi propio nombre."

NOTES.

122. His long stay among the Moors cannot be rhymed with his known history (see *Rel. 2, desc. 8—14*), and no one of his literary friends (Lope, Quevedo, etc.) makes the slightest allusion to such an event.
123. See the *Prólogo* and the beginning of the *Epílogo*.
124. Beginning of *Relacion Primera*.
125. The *Desordenada Codicia* has no name on title-page; the *dedicatoria* is signed Garcia. Only original edition known: Paris, 1619. It is supposed, with good show of reason, that the author was the same man who two years before issued with the signature Carlos Garcia (which on the title-page is El D. Carlos Garcia) the book mentioned in note 126.
Reprinted, separate: Sevilla, 1886, Imprenta de E. Rasco, Bustos Tavera no. 1. (only one hundred copies printed).
With his other work: Madrid, 1877 (vol. VII of the *Libros de antaño*).
126. *La oposicion y conjuncion de los dos grandes luminaires de la tierra*; subtitle: *La antipatía de Españoles y Franceses*. Paris, 1617.
Frequently printed with a French translation made by R. D. B. (?); the aforementioned Madrid edition of 1877 enumerates: Paris, 1617; Cambray, 1622; Ghent, 1645; and with title: *Antipatía*, etc.: Rouen, 1627 (of which two pretended reprints, differing only in title-page, are described).
127. See about his works, Adolfo de Castro, Introduction to vol. II of *Poetas líricos de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Riv., 42), p. XXXIV.
Of the *Enriquez de Castro*, Gallardo (no. 2821) mentions an edition of Paris, viuda de Matias Gillemont, 1612, 877 pages. This probably is a mistake for that of Paris, 1617, viuda de Matias Guillemot, 879 pages, which is generally considered the first (see Salvá, no. 1875) and only edition, though Brunet says Nicolas Antonio mentions one of 1621, which according to Salvá (*l. c.*) is not in N. Antonio.

128. The *Engaños de este siglo*, Paris, 1615 (see Ticknor, *Catal.*) is a well-written, but indecent, little book, containing an endless series of women and men who deceive each other. It is characteristic of the times that Ticknor's copy lacks the pages 265—266, which probably were torn out by some pious person because they contained a remark against the "derecho de asilo" of churches, while the rest of the volume was left for the edification of its readers.

I cannot agree entirely with A. de Castro as to the correctness of the language of the *Engaños* (see A. de Castro, *l. c.*). No Spaniard, it seems to me, would have written as a conclusion to a book: "suplicote de no tener á mal si cojo las de villa Diego y te dexo á muy buenas noches." The *Enriquez de Castro* seems more nearly correct; the fact is, I have not read the book with strict attention.

Of the *Enriquez de Castro*, after almost nine hundred pages, the author promises a second part, which fortunately never appeared.

The cost of the book in Madrid is never below 300 rs.; a fine copy costs even 400.

129. Biography and bibliography of Salas Barbadillo in Barrera, pp. 352—358. In the bibliography some minor changes may be made from Salvá's and Ticknor's catalogues, and especially from Gallardo.
130. The printer is the well-known Pedro Joseph Alonso y Padilla, who practised his trade 1733—1746 (see Salvá, no. 1731; 1839). In the list in no. 1731 we find, as Barrera (p. 357, a.) points out, both the *Coche de las estafas*, which belongs to Castillo Solorzano, and the *Licenciado Talega*, a book that is absolutely unknown except from Padilla's lists.
131. In the *Estafeta del dios Momo*, Madrid, 1627 (see Ticknor, *Catal.*) we find in the *Elogio*: "Diez y siete libros deue la erudicion Española á Alonso de Salas", and at the end of the book a list of only sixteen.

NOTES.

In the *Coronas del Parnaso*, Madrid, 1635 (posthumous) we read: "Ilustro nuestra nacion con 19 hijos de su entendimiento."

Likewise in the Epistle Dedicatory to *The fortunate fool*, London, 1670, it is stated: "his works which are in all 19 volumes, besides many excellent Plays." If the plays that constitute a volume apiece are not counted, it is impossible to arrive at nineteen volumes. The English writer may have meant that in several of the volumes are found intercalated a number of plays.

132. In: *Varios prodigios de amor, en once novelas exemplares*, etc., Barcelona 1760, (Ticknor, *Catal.*; see also Salvá, no. 2015). The original *Aprob.* and *Lic.* are of April, 1665; so the work must be a reprint of the 1666 edition which Salvá mentions. Besides the five stories by Alonso de Alcalá y Herrera (each wanting one vowel) as stated by Salvá, we also find Tirso's *Tres maridos burlados*. The *pícaro amante* is found pp. 196—209, and has for additional title: "escarmiento de mugeres, burlesca."

The story seems to be of about 1625; it is told long after it happened "en Valladolid, donde está la Corte;" the "cavalleros del milagro" (see my note no. 95) also occur here.

133. *El necio bien afortunado* appeared in Madrid, 1621 (see Gallardo, no. 3761). Two English translations: *The fortunate fool*, by Philip Ayres, 1670; *The lucky idiot*, by a person of quality, 1760, the latter abridged. (See Ticknor, *Catal.*) Italian translation: *Lo sciocco ignorante avventurato...* tradotto... da Cesare Zanucca, Venetia, 1634 (Leiden University library).
134. *Alonso mozo de muchos amos*, Madrid, 1624; Barcelona, 1625 Segunda Parte, Valladolid, 1626 (see Gallardo, no. 81—83). Other works by the author: *Milagros de Nuestra Señora de la Fuencisla*, Salamanca, 1615; *Verdades para la vida cristiana*, Valladolid, 1632. (Gallardo, no. 84—85). Of the

Milagros the author seems to have been proud; he makes Alonso mention the book (*Donado hablador*, Riv. 18, p. 574, b).

The author's life is given in the second (see Salvá, no. 2875) edition of Colmenares, *Historia de la insigne ciudad de Segovia*, Madrid, 1640 (pp. 777—778), and reprinted, somewhat condensed, in *Apuntes biográficos de escritores segovianos* por D. T. B. y G. Segovia 1877, pp. 185—188. From Colmenares we learn: Born 1563; began to study theology with Fr. Juan de la Cruz, but abandoned this purpose "por humanos respetos," as he says in the prologue to the *Verdades para la vida cristiana*; studied Medicine at Valencia; practised at Segovia; died 1632. (see also Riv., 18, p. XIII). In the *Donado* we find a glowing eulogy of Valencia as a place for the study of Medicine (Riv., 18, p. 524, a), all of which makes Ticknor's remark (II, p. 221, note 1) the stranger, "that the word Alcalá in the name of the author only indicates that he studied at Alcalá."

The passage which the *Donado* imitates from Salas Barbadillo's *Necio bien afortunado*: Riv., 18, p. 499, b—501, a.

135. To mention only the fables (pages according to Riv., 18):
 The man, his son (and his wife) with the ass, p. 508;
 The animals confess their sins; the ass is punished for having eaten grass that was not his, p. 512;
 The lion, wolf and fox, and the lioness' reasons for seeking divorce, p. 533;
 The cat of Venus changed into a woman, p. 560;
 The ass who caresses his master, p. 566;
 The deer and kid determine to abandon fear, p. 571.
136. pp. 545—551.
137. pp. 517—522.
138. Gallardo, nos. 941—944.
139. One by Montalvan (Barrera, p. 268); perhaps also one by Belmonte, mentioned in the *Bachiller Trapaza*. (Ed. 1733, p. 163), the existence of which is doubted by Barrera (p. 31);

but *Trapaza* being of 1634, the statement seems to be rather authoritative.

140. *Historia de la Monja Alferez, doña Catalina de Erauso*, escrita por ella misma, é ilustrada con notas y documentos, por D. Joaquin Maria de Ferrer, Paris, Didot, 1829.

The story has recently been translated into French, and edited with a good summary introduction and final bibliographical note, by J. M. de Hérédia: *La Nonne Alferez*, Paris, Lemerre, 1894, with illustrations by Vierge.

There is no doubt as to the real existence and history of the Monja Alferez; the uncertainty is whether she herself wrote what passes as her Life.

141. *Comentarios de el desengañado de sí mesmo, prueba de todos estados y eleccion del mejor de ellos, ó sea Vida de el mesmo autor, que lo es Don Diego Duque de Estrada*.

Edited, after a M.S. copy in the Bibl. Nac. at Madrid, by D. Pascual de Gayangos, as vol. 12 of the *Memorial Histórico Español*, Madrid, 1860. 515 pp. text, + XVIII of Introduction, and 18 of Index.

The author lived from 1589 till about 1647; his book ends in the latter part of 1646. He began to write it in 1614 (see his *Dedicatoria* of the first part, on p. 2).

142. Quevedo enjoys the privilege of being the Spanish author who, next to Cervantes, has had the most faithful, painstaking and intelligent editor in D. Aureliano Fernández-Guerra, and in E. Mérimée a careful critic (*Essai sur la vie et les oeuvres de Francisco de Quevedo*, par E. Mérimée, Paris, 1886, IX + 466 pp., with an excellent portrait). To the outcome of their investigations it is impossible to add with our present light.

Quevedo's works, as edited (that is, only the first two volumes; the third was prepared by D. Florencio Janer, who died without having fully accomplished the task of commenting and annotating the text) by Fernández-Guerra, occupy

vols. 23, 48, 69 of Riv., *Bibl. Aut. Esp.* The *Buscon* in Riv. 23, pp. 485—528; the Bibliography (Riv. 23, pp. XCII—XCIII) enumerates forty-six editions. The *princeps* is of 1626; the last there mentioned are two of 1845.

143. Mérimée (pp. 150—151) marks the facts to which a date can be placed; they all are contained in the period from 1602—1607. Quevedo was born in 1580, and finished his studies at Alcalá not earlier than 1600; so the period of composition followed immediately upon his student life, while the scenes of the work are mainly reminiscences of his University career.

144. Lib. I, cap. 11. (Riv. 23, p. 505—506).

145. The *Gerardo* has for title: *Poema tragico del Español Gerardo, y desengaño del amor lasciuo.*

The first edition, Madrid, 1615, contains only the first part. Ticknor (II, p. 233) says the second part appeared in 1617. The first edition which I find to contain Part II is of 1621, which gives the same dates of the *Aprobaciones* as that of 1615. The matter is uncertain, since Ticknor does not mention his authority.

As the *Pindaro* appeared 1626, I enumerate here only the editions previous to this date.

1. 1615, Madrid.
(Gallardo, no. 1797; Salvá, no. 1764; Heredia, no. 2594; 5988).
2. 1617, Madrid.
(Navarrete, *Bosquejo*, p. VIII, note 1).
3. 1618, Barcelona.
(Navarrete, *ibid.*)
4. 1618, Madrid.
(Navarrete, *ibid.*, copying Ticknor, *l. c.*).
5. 1621, Cuenca. Part I and II.
(Gallardo, no. 1798).
6. 1623, Madrid.
(Luis F.-Guerra, *Alarcon*, note 541).

NOTES.

7. 1625, Lisbon.

(Gallardo, no. 1799; Salvá, no. 1764).

The *Gerardo* has since gone through numerous editions. Reprinted in Riv., 18, pp. 117—271. For appreciations of the work, see Ticknor, II, 233; and Navarrete, *Bosquejo*, (Riv., 18) pp. VIII—X, who highly esteems it except for the language.

146. 1. 1626, Lisboa. *Varia fortuna del soldado Pindaro*. Por Don Gonzalo de Cespedes y Meneses, vezino, y natural de Madrid.

(Gallardo, no. 1793).

2. 1661, Madrid.

(Gallardo, no. 1794).

3. 1696, Zaragoza.

(Gallardo, no. 1795).

Ticknor (II, 233) gives only these same three editions. Salvá does not even mention the book.

Reprinted in Riv., 18, pp. 272—375.

147. *Don Raimundo el Entremetido*, Alcalá, s.a. (1627), printed anonymously.

See: Barrera, p. 405—406; Aur. F.-Guerra, in *Obras de Quevedo* I (Riv., 23), p. LXXXV, c.; Mérimée, *Quevedo*, p. 168, note 4.

The most recent edition of the *Raimundo* is in *Obras de Quevedo*, Madrid, Vicente Castelló, 1840—45, 5 vols. (vol. IV, pp. 71—101).

148. *La niña de los embustes, Teresa de Mançanares*. Valencia, 1632. Barcelona, 1632, Madrid, 1733.

These seem to be the only editions that exist. Ticknor's *Catalogue* gives the Barcelona as the first edition; see Barrera. Salvá did not have the book. Gallardo mentions only the Barcelona edition.

149. Barrera mentions an edition: Valencia, 1634. Salvá (no. 1149) gives: "*Aventuras del Bachiller Trapaza, quinta essencia de*

embusteros, y maestro de emblecadores. Çaragoça, 1637." The preliminaries are dated Zaragoza, 1635; hence Salvá supposes the possibility of an edition of that year. Subsequently: Madrid, 1733 (Salvá, no. 1150; Ticknor, *Catal.*).

150. Nicolas Antonio gives an edition of *Logroño*, 1634; Barrera, one of Valencia, 1634; Salvá (no. 1731) one of Madrid, 1642. Afterwards: Madrid, 1733.

Reprinted in Riv., 33, pp. 169—234.

151. The only somewhat satisfactory review of Castillo's life and works is found in Barrera, pp. 75—78. Mesonero Romanos (Introduction to Riv. 45) mentions the *Garduña*, but has not even the names of *Teresa* and *Trapaza*. Ticknor (II, p. 222) makes only cursory mention of all three novels.

152. Adolfo de Castro, in his *Gil Blas*, Madrid, 1852 (see my note no. 116) gives various passages where Lesage imitates the *Teresa*. To these should be added Chapter 16. of the *Trapaza*, headed: "Como Trapaza volvió á encontrar á Estefania, quien luego cuenta lo que la habia sucedido"; it is almost literally repeated in *Gil Blas*, Book V, Chapter 7, where Laura relates her history.

153. C. Michaelis de Vasconcellos (in *Grundriss d. rom. Philol.*, II, 2, p. 351): "Der nennenswerteste Schelmenroman ist *O peralvilho de Cordova* von Matheus da Silva Cabral, der als Fortsetzung zu Solorzano's *Bachiller Trapaza* aufzufassen ist."

154. The author, to explain the name, says: "Pusieronle por nombre Hernando, que hijo de padres, uno Trampa en apellido, y otro Tramoya, huuo contemplacion que debia llamarse Trapaza, como cosa muy propinqua à ser efecto de los dos apellidos: asi le llamaron con este supuesto nombre mientras vivió." (Ed. 1733, p. 14).

The word *trapaza*, however, existed long before the date of composition of the novel. In the *Comedia Tebayda* (first edition: 1521) we find the adjective *trapacero* (Madrid reprint,

NOTES.

1894, p. 416; 422). The word *trapaza* occurs in 1557, in the *Córtes de la Muerte* (*Romancero y Cancionero sagrados*, Riv., 35, p. 25, c.):

“¡ De cuanto riesgo, trapaza,
Te he sacado, que esto peno,
Y hora dasme con la maza,
Parlando como picaza,
Lo tuyo y tambien lo ajeno!”

155. For instance, the monja alférez, on p. 160 of the edition of 1733.

156. The book was intended to bear the title *La congregacion de la miseria*, and to relate the adventures of Teresa's children, two taking after their father, a miserly merchant, and a daughter after the mother.

It is possible that these continuations actually appeared. Gallardo (no. 1687) describes the *Lysardo enamorado* of our author, which is absolutely unknown except for this description and Padilla's mention (see Barrera, p. 77, a). Menéndez y Pelayo has of Castillo the *Escarmientos de amor moralizados* which no bibliographer mentions. So it is possible that at some unexpected moment other works of Castillo's hand may come to light.

157. The best study of Enriquez Gomez is found in *Estudios históricos, políticos y literarios sobre los Judíos de España*, por D. José Amador de los Rios, Madrid, 1848, pp. 569—607; and shorter in Menéndez y Pelayo, *Heterod.*, vol. II, pp. 611—616. His dramatic works are fully discussed by Barrera, pp. 134—142.

El siglo Pitagórico passed through the following editions:

1. 1644, Rouen, Maury.
(Ticknor, II, p. 223, note 1.)
2. 1647, Rouen, Maury.
(Menéndez y Pelayo, *Heterod.*, II, p. 614, note 1.)

NOTES.

3. 1682, Rouen, Maury.
(Salvá, no. 1789. He observes that there are two different editions in the same year and by the same publisher).
4. 1727, Brussels, Foppens.
(Salvá, no. 1789. Men. y Pel., *Heterod.*, l. c.).
The *Guadaña* was reprinted separately in Riv., 33, pp. 257—283.
158. For instance, the first chapter is one continuous witticism on his parents and relations, all connected with the medical profession. It occupies no less than six columns.
159. "mas vale errar por piadoso que acertar por riguroso" (Riv., 33, p. 279, b).
160. Puigblanch (*Opúsculos gramático-satiricos*, London, s. a. [1833], vol. II, p. 372) was the first to note Lesage's indebtedness to the *Siglo Pitagórico*. See also: Navarrete, *Bosquejo*, p. LXXXVIII, note 1; and Menéndez y Pelayo, *Heterod.*, II, p. 614—615.
161. See Claretie, *Lesage*, pp. 183—187.
162. Ticknor, II, p. 224.
163. The most striking passage in Spanish literature about the excesses of soldiers on their march through Spain is found in the *Donado hablador* (Riv., 18, pp. 196—198). From the *Avisos de Pellicer* and other historical sources, Max Krenkel draws many examples to illustrate Calderon's *Alcalde de Zalamea*, (*Klassische Bühnendichtungen der Spanier*, von Max Krenkel, III. Calderon, *Der Richter von Zalamea*, Leipzig, 1887. Einleitung, p. 72).
164. 1. 1646, Amberes, Cnobbart.
(Salvá, no. 1830; Heredia, no. 2620).
2. 1652, Madrid, Rodriguez.
(Salvá, no. 1831; Heredia, no. 6038).

NOTES.

3. (s. a. 1720), Madrid, Sanz.
(Heredia, no. 6039).
4. 1725, Madrid, Peralta.
(Heredia, no. 2621).
5. 1729, Madrid, Padilla.
(Salvá, no. 1832; Heredia, no. 6040).
6. 1795, Madrid, Ruiz, 2 vols.
(Salvá, no. 1832).

Reprinted in Riv. 33, pp. 285—368, but without a rather comical poem "Al vulgo" found in the editions 1—5. These also contain a portrait of the author, which with slight variations is the same as that reproduced by Salvá, *l. c.* A copy of no. 3, in my possession, is without the portrait, though showing no signs of its having been removed.

It seems probable that other editions appeared between 1652 and 1720.

165. First printed in 1632; for bibliography of this and later editions, see Barrera, p. 450. Reprinted in Riv., 34, pp. 1—70. A good French translation, with interesting introduction, though the latter is written for a public unacquainted with the facts of Spanish literature, is: *Lope Félix de Vega Carpio. La Dorotea.* Action en prose. Traduite par C. B. Dumaine. Paris, Lemerre, 1892. 110 + 458 pp.
166. Ticknor (II, p. 255) calls the book "anziehend". I think it is one of the least entertaining and instructive that I have read. Gilés y Rubio (*Discurso*, p. 50) places it with the *novela picaresca*, though acknowledging, as Ticknor (*l. c.*) suggests, that the book was perhaps intended to oppose this class of novels.—First edition, 1668, Madrid. Reprinted separately, 1704, Valencia. In Santos' works, Madrid, 1723, 4 vols., vol. III, pp. 264—372.
167. Notably in the *Día y noche de Madrid*, a very clever description of all that can be seen in the capital; in the *Tarasas de Madrid*; in the *Gigantones de Madrid por defuera*; etc.,

all of which are most entertaining articles on the manners of the citizens, and full of information. They are all reprinted in the *Obras*, 1723.

168. See Barrera, p. 314—315.

Barrera states that the *Obras... y Aventuras de Don Fruela* "contienen, ademas de la novela expresada, una comedia burlesca y diez entremeses." In reality, the whole book is the story of Don Fruela, in which the dramatic pieces occupy the place which, in several novels (*Quijote*, *Guzman*, etc.), is given to short stories, intended to relieve the supposed monotony of a long-winded novel. For these pieces, in later works (Castillo's *Teresa* and others) short plays were substituted. So in the *Fruela*, these plays are used for the social entertainments that are given to the hero, or by him to his tormentors.

Quirós' *Obras* were published, as Barrera states, Madrid, 1656. They were already prohibited by the Sotomayor *Index* of 1667, and are still found prohibited in the Cevallos *Index* of 1790. This circumstance has made the book extremely rare. It is a very entertaining story, and contains some curious facts about the customs of the times.

In addition to the works enumerated by Barrera as belonging to this author, we find that in the *Avisos para la muerte*, 1659, he figures as one of the contributors, in company with the best poets of that time (see Gallardo, no. 3568).

169. Torres' life is summarized in Barrera, pp. 404—405. His works embrace fourteen volumes in the edition: Madrid, 1745—1752; and fifteen in the reprint: Madrid, 1799. No additional matter is found in the reprint; the original vol. VII was divided into VII and VIII in the new edttion.

The first four *Trozos* of Torres' life were published together in 1743; the fifth *Trozo*, in 1753; the sixth, in 1758.

How Ticknor (II, 346) can say that Torres "was distinguished by his knowledge of natural sciences" is not clear, after reading the man's autobiography.

NOTES.

170. Gallardo, no. 266; *Vida y sucesos del Astrólogo Don Gomez Arias*, escrita por el mismo Don Gomez Arias... Madrid, 1744.
171. The best and most thorough study of Feijóo is found in: Menéndez y Pelayo, *Heterod.*, vol. III, pp. 67—82, where numerous corrections are made to Ticknor's appreciation (see Ticknor, II, pp. 347—350).
172. All previous studies of Isla's life, works, and importance, pale before the beautiful work: *Les pêcheurs burlesques en Espagne au 18^{me} siècle. Etude sur le P. Isla*, par le P. Bernard Gaudeau, S. J. Paris, 1891 (final form of his *Le Père Isla. Etude sur le 18^{me} siècle en Espagne*. Paris, 1890). The author of this remarkable study had as a Jesuit access to many documents that had not been accessible to earlier critics.
173. The only correct edition of the *Gerundio*, the only one for which the M. S. of Part II was consulted, is that by Eduard Lidforss, vols. XLIII and XLIV of Brockhaus' *Coleccion de Autores Españoles*, Leipzig, 1885.
The first part first appeared in 1758; the second, secretly in 1768, the first having been prohibited by an edict of 1760. Part II was prohibited in 1776.
174. Isla's translation of *Gil Blas* was first printed in 1787. On the question of the originality of *Gil Blas*, see my notes to Espinel's Obregon, Castillo Solorzano's *Trapaza*, etc. (notes no. 116, 152); and for Gaudeau's view: Gaudeau, *Isla*, pp. 143—166.
175. The author, who calls himself Abogado de los Reales Consejos, is absolutely unknown. His name may have been assumed. The novel has the following title: *Los enredos de un lugar, ó historia de los prodigios y hazañas del célebre abogado de Conchuela el Lic. Taruga, del famoso escribano Carrales y otros ilustres personajes que hubo en el mismo pueblo antes de despoblarse, etc.* Su autor: Don Fernando Gutierrez de

Vegas, Abogado de los Reales Consejos. Madrid, 1778—1781, 3 vols. small 8°. Reprinted in 3 vols., Madrid, 1800, with omission of the "Advertencias á quien leyere" with which vol. I of 1778 began.

176. *Viajes de Enrique Wanton al país de las monas*, traducidos del inglés al italiano, y de éste al español. Por Don Joaquin de Guzman y Manrique. Madrid, 1772, 2 vols. A supplement, in 2 vols., appeared in 1778, in the introduction of which the author says: "buscando en Italia la continuacion, acabé de persuadirme á que el autor no era Inglés, como se finge, sino verdaderamente Italiano."

I have not succeeded in finding the Italian author of the original two volumes.

See about Guzman y Manrique: *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española de los mejores escritores del reinado de Carlos III*, por D. Juan Sempere y Guarinos. Madrid, 1789. Tomo VI, p. 112.

His real name was Gutierre Joaquin Vaca de Guzman. The first part being too personal, he was compelled by royal order to stop editing it; the continuation avoided personal allusions.

177. *Vida de Perico del Campo*, Obra restituída á su idioma original, por un buen español. Dála á luz el Abate Alcino. Madrid, 1792.

It is a translation of: *La vie de Pédrillo del Campo*, roman comique dans le goût espagnol. Par monsieur T. G. D. T. Amsterdam, 1720.

The first edition of the French work is of Paris, 1718 (see Barbier, *Dictionnaire des anonymes et pseudonymes*, Paris, 1806, 4 vols. no. 7383). Barbier says the author's name is Thibaut. This name occurs in the Amsterdam edition at the bottom of the *Dédicace*. The Spanish translation has (*Aviso del traductor*, p. XI): "Thibaut después fué Gobernador de Talmont, capital de Poitou, á lo que he podido averiguar, y eso quieren significar aquellas letras iniciales."

NOTES.

178. *Aventuras de Juan Luis*, historia divertida, que puede ser útil, y da á luz Don Diego Ventura Rexon y Lucas. Madrid, 1791.

The author's real name was Don Diego Rejon de Silva, author of the poem: *La Pintura*. Madrid, 1786.

Sempere y Guarinos (*l. c.* vol. V) mentions the poem, but not the novel.

See also: Cueto, in *Riv.*, 61, p. CLXIV.

179. as does Gilés y Rubio (*Discurso*, p. 50), together with the last four books mentioned by me.

180. *Vida de Pedro Saputo, natural de Almudebar, hijo de una mujer, ojos de vista clara y padre de la agudeza*. Zaragoza, Imprenta de R. Gallifa, 1844. 348 pages, + 3 of *Índice* and 1 of *Erratas*. This little volume is a *feuilleton* of a Zaragoza newspaper. The only copy known is the one belonging to Prof. Menéndez y Pelayo.

The author was Braulio Foz, professor of Greek at Zaragoza (see about him; Latassa, *Biblioteca de escritores aragoneses*. Edición aumentada por D. F. Gómez Uriel, Zaragoza, 1885, tomo I, pp. 522—524). He lived 1791—1865, and wrote besides: *Novísima poética española*. Poema satírico en 12 cantos. Por e. A. d. S. Zaragoza, 1859. The "e. A. d. S." means: el Autor del Saputo.

The story contains a neat description of student life in the beginning of this century (cap. 9—13).

The story of "la justicia de Almudebar" is the story of the peasants who, when their only blacksmith had deserved capital punishment, hang seven carpenters, of whom they could spare a few.

The story of "el milagro de Alcolea" is the story of Ulen-spiegel with the boots.

181. The full title is:

Vida y hechos de Gil Perez de Marchamalo, publicados

NOTES.

- por D. Juan Federico Muntadas. Madrid, Rivadeneyra. 2 vols.
First edition: 1866. Second edition: 1872.
182. Vol. II in the *Segunda Serie* of the *Episodios nacionales*. First edition of this volume: Madrid, 1881; since then, frequently reprinted in the series.
183. First edition: Madrid, 1884. Since then: vol. XIII of the *Obras completas de D. José M. de Pereda*. Madrid, 1891.
184. See concerning the whole movement: Ménendez y Pelayo, *Heterod.*, vol. III, pp. 783—795.
185. In vol. III of his: *Colección de opúsculos*. Sevilla, 1877. See Menéndez y Pelayo, *l. c.*, p. 784, and p. 786, note 1.
186. Menéndez y Pelayo, *ibid.*, p. 795.
187. *Guzman; Justina; Enriquez de Castro; Necio bien afortunado; Teresa; Garduña; Píndaro; Guadaña*. These explicitly promise a continuation that did not appear. I do not mention those which were actually brought to an end by the author.
Lazarillo and the *Buscón* should have been continued by the authors, according to indications at the end of the works.
188. Morel-Fatio, in his *Etudes sur l'Espagne*, 1^{re} série, says (Préface, p. IX):
"A défaut d'un gros livre, qui paraîtra en son temps, sur la société espagnole au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle, voici d'abord, et comme pour le préparer, plusieurs dissertations", etc.
This was written in 1888. Since that time, the author has given us an article on the *golilla* as a typical part of the Spanish official costume (*España moderna*, Nov. 1894), the only published outcome of his studies in this line—a sufficient proof of the magnitude of such undertakings. But: *in magnis voluisse . . . algo est*.

L I F E.

Born at Leeuwarden, Netherlands, I studied the Classical and Modern languages at the Universities of Leiden and Groningen, 1879—1885. In 1885 I obtained the position of Instructor in Modern Languages at Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, which I held for six years. From 1891—1895 I have been a Graduate student in the Romance Department of the Johns Hopkins University, spending the year 1892—1893 at the Universidad Central, Madrid, Spain, and upon my return becoming Assistant in the Romance Department at the Johns Hopkins University, which position I still hold. I received a Fellowship in June 1894, upon which I did not enter.

1895.

To be a pupil of A. Marshall Elliott and of M. Ménendez y Pelayo is a boon, the joy of which grows with the passing years. I thankfully record my profound obligations to these Masters.

1903.
